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SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND MOBILITY ORIENTATION OF SELECTED EDMONTON HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between aspects of social mobility and social class background. Two variants of mobility that were examined are "mobility skills" and "mobility orientation," the former referring to values which facilitate achievement and mobility, and the latter applying to levels of aspiration relative to education and occupation. Both variants can be further conceived of as components of Rosen's Achievement Syndrome. The study also compared these levels of aspiration with expectation levels, and for each social class in the sample, examined the aspiration-expectation gap.

A nonprobability sample of 249 male and female Edmonton high school seniors were the subjects of the study. By means of a two-part questionnaire, information was gathered concerning these students. Part I of the questionnaire consisted of an Achievement Value Orientation Test, and the second part gathered data as to each student's aspirations and expectations as well as certain selected social characteristics.

Statistical analysis of the data established a moderate and positive relationship between achievement value orientation and social class background. However, a significant relationship did not exist between this orientation and levels of educational and occupational aspiration. The anomalousness of this latter finding, together with the outcome

of factor analysis, suggests that the Achievement Value Orientation Test has highly doubtful validity. It is therefore recommended that any further use of the test necessitates extensive revision and validation prior to its usage. In addition, the findings suggest that the allegedly close relationships among components of the Achievement Syndrome are questionable.

One of the major findings of the study was that for both the male and female subsamples, social class background was significantly related to levels of educational and occupational expectation. However, in the case of levels of educational and occupational aspirations, this relationship was not statistically significant at the .05 level. This finding adds support to the "maldistribution of mobility resources thesis." It further suggests that society in Edmonton appears to be more open than that of the United States and perhaps parts of eastern Canada.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

Over the past several decades, extensive changes have taken place in many aspects of Canadian education. These changes have often entailed the expenditure of considerable amounts of public funds, and the future will likely see a similar proportion of the tax dollar invested in education.

However modern and multifaceted Canadian schools have become, the expense and effort invested into this type of education appears not to have been entirely successful in yielding the results that were expected. Complementary with this heavy expenditure on education was an implicit hope that students will be much more motivated and enthusiastic, the result being an increase in the numbers desiring to attain high school graduation and pursue a post-secondary education of one kind or another.

Although studies indicate that there has been a general increase in the holding power of schools, there remains a considerably high dropout rate in this country. Studies in Canada and particularly the United States (the latter's educational system generally providing the model for Canadian emulation) conclusively indicate that the proportion of students who complete high school is very low, and that among those who do not graduate, only a small percentage pursue a university education.

The Dropout Phenomenon

The majority of research dealing with the phenomenon of school dropouts has been produced in the United States, but there are Canadian studies that reveal the extent to which early withdrawal from school is the case in this country. Pavalko and Bishop report that approximately 50 percent of Canadian students who enter the first year of high school withdraw prior to reaching the twelth grade.[1] Partly as a consequence of this, at the time of Pavalko's and Bishop's study which was published in 1966, Canada had only about 8 percent of its youth between the ages of 20 and 24 enrolled in post-secondary educational institutions.[2] Compared to the number of students at the post-secondary level in the United States, the proportion in Canada is considerably lower, i.e., about one-third that of the United States.[3]

Regarding the school dropout rate specifically, a longitudinal study reported in 1964 found that of a sample of ten thousand Canadian children who entered the first grade in the same year, almost ninety percent withdrew before graduating.[4] The study revealed that of the initial number of children, 3200 withdrew from school by the time they had reached the eighth grade entrance level (a one-third dropout during the elementary grades); another 1500 failed to reach grade nine; less than one-half of the remaining 5300 completed junior matriculation; and only slightly over 1000 of the original 10,000 graduated from

high school.[5]

R. Hughes supports these findings in a study he carried out in 1968. His investigation involved 1049 Alberta grade nine students and the findings indicate that the chances of a student at this grade level ever graduating from high school are fifty-fifty.[6] More specifically, he claims that only 29.3 percent of all males and 48.3 percent of all females in his sample graduated from high school after entering the ninth grade.[7]

Since it is not the intent of this discussion to either review the literature in regard to the dropout phenomenon or to attempt a replication of any of these studies, it is sufficient to restate that statistics support the claim that Canadian (and even more pertinent to this study, Alberta) schools continue their failure to retain until graduation, a significantly high proportion of students.

Education in an Industrial Economy

Early school withdrawal is a definite problem in Canada, particularly in view of its relatively mature economic system. For the most part, the formal institution of Canadian education is charged with the development of the "talent" or "ability" of young people in a society that has demanded increasingly more and more educated workers.[8] Furthermore, schools provide a major avenue of status mobility in a modern industrial society, and by leaving school prior to graduation, many young people are being denied the advantages

offered by this mode of status improvement.

It is now almost a truism that the majority of school dropouts in both the United States and Canada share a common socio-economic background, namely, the low social classes in the social structure. In addition, indications are that "...high ability students of high socioeconomic status are more likely to plan to go to college than those of high ability and low socioeconomic status...."[9] Although merely in economic terms this structurally built-in talent waste is a staggering loss to the stock of "human capital" that can be accrued through education,[10] it is also indicative of what may be termed a "social irony": in effect, the very individuals for whom education may provide a viable access to the high status occupations that will likely result in upward social mobility, are often spurning this mobility means by early school withdrawal.

Purpose and Value of the Study

Numerous studies have been done in attempts to determine reasons for early school withdrawal, why students do not go on to post-secondary educational institutions, and why many youth attend school but expend little effort towards academic achievement. Most of this research has been carried out in the United States and has given rise to rather contradictory sociological theories purported to explain the phenomena in question.[11] Although it is tempting for Canadian sociologists and educators to adopt these findings

to explain mobility in Canadian society, considerable evidence regarding differences between the two countries[12] demands caution in extending these explanations to the latter society. Rather than uncritically embracing models and theories developed from different societies, sociology must examine the social structure of Canada with a consideration of the ways in which it differs from the United States.

The purpose of the study reported here is to explore the relationship which exists between social class in Edmonton, Alberta and various indicators of values and attitudes conducive to high educational and occupational goals. More specifically, the study undertakes to examine the relationship between social class and values which purportedly encourage "success striving" as well as the relationship between social class and levels of "educational and occupational aspiration."[13] The sample used in the study consists of 249 male and female seniors attending composite high schools in Edmonton.

An examination of the above-mentioned relationships gave rise to the following hypotheses which serve as a guideline for the investigation:

I There is no significant relationship between social class and values conducive to school success among a group of urban Alberta high school seniors.

II The educational aspiration level of high school seniors is not related to social class for either males or females separately.

III The educational aspiration level of male high school seniors is higher than that of their female counterparts.

IV The educational expectation level of high school seniors is positively related to social class. This relationship is expected to apply also to males and females separately.

V The educational expectation level of male high school seniors is higher than that of their female counterparts.

VI The occupational aspiration level of high school seniors is not related to social class for either males or females separately.

VII The occupational aspiration level of male high school seniors is higher than that of their female counterparts.

VIII The occupational expectation level of high school seniors is positively related to social class. This relationship is expected to apply also to males and females separately.

IX The occupational expectation level of male high school seniors is higher than that of their female counterparts.

Few studies have been carried out in Alberta as attempts to gain an insight into the post-secondary educational plans of students who are in their last years of school and are thus faced with impending choices and decisions. There is little knowledge of the proportion of these seniors who indicate the desire for high goal attainment both in the educational and occupational spheres, but for one reason or another, do not anticipate or expect to reach these goals.

As previously acknowledged, a considerable number of studies, the bulk of which were carried out in the United States, have rather contradictory findings in regard to educational and occupational aspirations as well as value orientation toward success in terms of education and work. A majority of this research reports a considerable relation-

ship between these aspects of values and the social class structure in America.

The salient question for Canadian sociology and Alberta education in particular, is whether or not findings, theoretical models and analytic tools derived from the United States, can legitimately serve to examine and perhaps explain society in Alberta. There is reason to suspect that this society, because of its relative youth and possibly more open social structure, provides a social setting in which social stratification does not significantly predetermine the value that a person or a group has toward high goals in the educational and occupational spheres. It seems apparent that knowledge about the relationship between social stratification and these values will contribute to the understanding of social mobility in Alberta society. Furthermore, from a more pragmatic standpoint, the study will be of value to educators and others who are interested in the post-secondary high school plans of youth in this society.

Footnotes

[1] R.M. Pavalko and D.R. Bishop, "Socioeconomic Status and College Plans: A Study of Canadian High School Students", Sociology of Education, 39 (1966), p. 289.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] G.W. Bancroft, "Some Sociological Considerations on Education in Canada", Canadian Education and Research Digest, 4 (March, 1964), p. 27.

[5] Ibid.

[6] R.H. Hughes, "A Study of High School Dropouts in Alberta", a study made for the Research Division of the Alberta Department of Youth, (September, 1968), p. 6.

[7] Ibid.

[8] vide infra.

[9] Pavalko, op. cit., p. 298.

[10] Theodore W. Schultz, "Capital Formation by Education", Journal of Political Economy, 68 (1960), p. 579.

[11] vide infra.

[12] For a comparison between Canada and the United States see Seymour M. Lipset, "Canada and the United States - A Comparative View", in W.E. Mann, Canada, A Sociological Profile (The Copp Clark Publishing Company, 1968), p. 489. In this article Lipset points out and discusses historical, religious and value differences that differentiate Canadian society and that of the United States.

[13] vide infra.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A characteristic of many industrial societies is a social class system in which the distribution of status closely follows the occupational structure of the society.[1] Within a wide range of occupations there are varying degrees of skill and responsibility required to perform the occupational roles. Generally, those jobs which demand a high level of skill are accorded more status than those requiring lesser skills.[2] Furthermore, the amount of reward obtained through the performance of a job often reflects the degree of responsibility and skill that is required. Accordingly, the persons involved in higher status jobs will likely receive greater amounts of material reward as well as the "...less tangible rewards [generally] in the form of symbols of distinction and esteem, and some measures of influence and power,..."[3]

According to F. Jones the genesis of social differentiation, i.e., social class, stems from similarities of attitudes, beliefs and behaviors developed by people at the same occupation levels:

> As persons who are employed at a similar occupational level are likely to share similar attitudes and to agree upon appropriate ways of behaving, they are also likely to participate more with each other than with those from another occupational level. In short, the division of the population on the basis of occupa-

> tion provides a basis for the emergence of social classes, groupings of people who share common values and who interact together more or less exclusively. Furthermore, the existence of an unequal distribution of rewards provides a further inducement for the members of a given class to strive at least to maintain their position relative to the members of other classes.[4]

In addition to an unequal distribution of occupational rewards, a social class system is often typified by a differential distribution of property, power, prestige and psychic gratification.[5] It may also range from the inflexible caste system to the more open class system of modern western capitalism.

The caste system differentiates essentially on the basis of ascription; the open system, because of an incessant demand for new and greater occupational skills, tends to reflect achievement rather than ascriptive principles. "It follows that the freer people are to choose their jobs and to acquire the necessary training, the more adaptable and [flexible]..." the system is.[6]

Theoretically, an open social class system provides a structural setting in which people are both upwardly and downwardly mobile. This vertical social mobility is a widespread concomitant of industrialization.[7] Furthermore, "...the overall pattern of social mobility appears to be much the same in the industrial societies of various Western countries."[8]

Some indication of the degree of openness in a social class system is provided by an examination of the social

status of an individual relative to that of his father.[9] However, this is at best a crude measure of mobility since the status differential among occupations is in a state of flux; any particular job may over time, accrue to its incumbents, varying degrees of status. Hence such a measure is a rather imprecise and somewhat unreliable means of determining the social mobility of offspring.

In addition, there are no strict divisions between social classes in an open society. Consequently, difficulties are encountered when one attempts to identify and numerate the strata or classes within a system. Recognizing this situation, research into the phenomenon of social stratification involves the establishment of an operationalized definition of social classes "...constructed for the purpose of investigation so that people can be placed in positions relative to each other...."[10]

In research, social classes are often constructed on the basis of objective criteria such as occupational and educational attainment.[11] This allows for the placement of individuals on a socio-economic scale arranged as a status hierarchy. Using this scale to allocate individuals to social classes, it is possible to examine social mobility as well as study the relationship between stratification and the attitudes, norms and values of individuals.

Social Mobility in an Open Class System

An analysis of social mobility in a social class system

may take into consideration three variants, each one being distinct and empirically discernible and open to or possessed by the upwardly mobile groups: mobility resources, mobility skills, and mobility orientations.[12]

R. Stephenson regards "mobility resources" as being attributes or characteristics that facilitate upward mobility. These resources may be either an inherent or ascriptive kind. The former refers to innate resources, i.e., ability and intelligence, while the latter may include material resources such as wealth, often acquired through ascribed status. The argument is that an individual who is in possession of either or both kinds of mobility resources will stand a better chance of realizing upward mobility than a person who does not possess them.

"Mobility skills" refer to "...learned patterns of behavior and acquired attitudes and values that are instrumental to mobility..."[13] Apparently, socialization processes are involved in this learning, since it is through socialization that an individual acquires attitudes and values. If these skills tend to facilitate upward mobility, then Stephenson calls them "mobility skills."

An example of a mobility skill is the deferred gratification pattern,[14] presumably since it is an attitude that places emphasis on the postponement of reward in anticipation of greater gratification in the future. Presumably, since the later satisfaction is greater, it can more than compensate for the interim deferment. In a society using

material possessions and social status as yardsticks for measuring achievement and success, the pattern of deferred gratification is a functional attitude - it can facilitate upward mobility.

The third variant of analysis, "mobility orientation" "...refers to aspiration levels within the stratification system that serve as points of motivation in competition for position in the social structure."[15] Although Stephenson makes reference to these factors in regard to the individual "psychologically,"[16] his explanation is vague, and much is left to the interpretation of the reader.

Further ambiguity lies in the differentiation made between the concept "mobility orientation" and "mobility skills." Both variants appear to be kinds of attitudes, that is, if one indexes mobility aspirations in the way Stephenson suggests, using operative criteria such as attitudes toward education, occupation and income.[17] If these three variants of social mobility are in fact "analytically distinct and empirically discernible," his justification for this argument seems to fall short of his claim.

Presumably, Stephenson takes the theoretical position that human behavior is goal-oriented and that attitudes or values, i.e., the mobility skills, organize and direct this human action.[18] It then follows that when the goal is upward mobility, the level of attainment of this objective, i.e., the level of aspiration, is largely determined by factors referred to by Stephenson as mobility orientation.

He posits that within the stratification system of an open society, "levels of aspiration" reflect the extent to which one is motivated to elevate his status position. Implicit in this view of course, is an egalitarian ethos, namely, that all individuals within the society are capable of attaining upward mobility.

In a relatively open society such as the United States, the study of social mobility has involved all three of Stephenson's categories. Furthermore, the particular patterns of this mobility have at one time or another, been explained in terms of these variables, and this approach has been taken to examine the relationships among occupation, education, income and social class.

As previously discussed, an individual's social class is often operationally defined in terms of the position he holds within the occupational structure of the society (in this case, the United States and Canada).[19] In these societies there can be identified a "prestige hierarchy of occupations" that reflects the extensive differentials in social prestige and economic rewards accruing from various occupations.

Furthermore, there seems to be a considerable nexus between one's occupation and his level of formal education, the former often influencing the latter in modern technological societies. Since this relationship exists, it follows then that education is also inextricably intertwined with social status. Duncan argues this point and attempts

to tie these variables together:

> ...a man qualifies himself for occupational life by obtaining an education; as a consequence of pursuing his occupation he obtains income. Occupation, therefore, is the intervening activity linking income to education. If we characterize an occupation according to the prevailing levels of education and income of its incumbents, we are not only estimating its "social status" and its "economic status", we are also describing one of its major "causes" and one of its major "effects."[20]

On the basis of this assumption, various indices have been developed that purport to rank socio-economic status in industrial societies. A further assumption which has been considerably borne out statistically, is that there is a tendency for these industrial societies to produce "... similar orderings in the social standings of occupations,..."[21]

Emphasizing a key role for both education and occupation in the conceptualization of social status, a vast body of research has presented a consistent theme, i.e., that there is a "maldistribution" of social mobility within the stratification system of both the United States and Canada. This differential distribution is invariably in favour of the higher social classes and is evidenced by the considerably higher rate of upward intergenerational mobility among members of these strata as compared to the lower classes.

Social Class and Mobility Orientation

The "mobility orientation" variable has provided a focus for considerable research into social mobility within the social-class structure of industrial societies. Such

an approach does not totally disregard or deny that "mobility resources" and "mobility skills" also have a great bearing on the subject. It does however, give primacy to values that can either inhibit or give impetus to upward mobility. The argument given by the proponents of this view is that even those studies dealing with the effects of material deprivation,[22] often acknowledge the significant role of values in regard to mobility.[23] As O. Banks indicates in her discussion of this issue:

> ...studies of social class differences in beliefs and values can be shown to have considerable relevance for the explanation of class differences in educational performance. These differences centre upon the emphasis each social class characteristically places upon achievement.[24]

Hence, in a social setting that involves education as an important means of status attainment, differences in value toward educational success may play an important role in social mobility.

Therefore, it is the mobility orientation variable that is a major concern of this thesis. In industrial societies, the analysis of social mobility focusing on this variable, has taken a dual form, the outcome being two perspectives from which this phenomenon can be viewed.

One approach sees mobility orientation as following class lines; the middle class is seen as the strivers while the lower class is considered to be content to continue occupying the lower status positions in the society. Regardless of the extent to which the latter social classes

have access to mobility resources and skills, their orientation precludes them from extensive upward mobility.[25] In contrast, members of the middle class subscribe to an orientation which allows for, in fact, virtually demands, the exploitation of skills and resources for the purpose of upward mobility.

The other interpretation of mobility orientation sees this variable as being rather similarly distributed throughout the stratification system.[26] Taking this perspective, the analysis of social mobility assumes that irrespective of an individual's position within the stratification hierarchy, his orientation is basically toward goals that are shared by the majority of the system's members. Empirically discernible class differences in the rate of upward mobility and the maldistribution of social status are attributed to disparate distributions of the skills and resources that facilitate mobility. Again, it is the upper and middle classes who benefit from these distributions, and although their levels of aspiration are not significantly higher than those of the lower classes, the latter encounter considerably formidable obstacles obstructing educational and occupational success. O. Banks summarizes this hypothesis in the following manner:

> Several studies in recent years have found that there is little difference between the social classes in the importance they attach to 'getting ahead,' and that if anything, it is the working class to whom occupational success is the most important. They are also, however, much more likely to see the path to

> occupational success closed to them... because they perceive... obstacles in the way of its achievement.[27]

Value Orientation and Social Class

In the study of social class and its relationship to educational and occupational aspirations, much has been written about human value orientation. Numerous studies carried out in both the United States and Great Britain show strong indications that a student's values will often greatly affect his educational and occupational aspirations.[28] In most of this research, a relationship has been shown to exist between value orientation and socio-economic background. The inference is therefore made that the latter is related to the individual's perception of that which is of value in his life. Implicit in this, is the assumption that people aim their actions or behaviors toward the goals they set, i.e., their "aspirations." It is hypothesized that values influence the location of the priority position that educational and occupational achievement holds in one's value hierarchy. The phenomenon of social stratification is found to be a factor that contributes significantly to the development of values favouring high levels of educational and occupational aspiration.

Review of the Literature

Sewell, Haller and Straus, using a sample of over four thousand Wisconsin non-farm high school seniors, found that

"...values specific to different status positions are important influences on levels of educational and occupational aspiration."[29] Furthermore, this influence was found to continue even when intelligence and sex were controlled. This led the researchers to conclude that the relationship between educational and occupational aspirations and socio-economic status is considerably independent of a common relationship of these variables to intelligence.[30]

James Davie attempted an explanation for the relationship between social class and value orientations by positing the hypothesis that individuals belonging to different social classes possess different "...configuration[s] of beliefs, values and attitudes pertaining to the purpose and value of education."[31] In his study of New Haven adolescents he reports that families from all social classes perceived an "economic benefit" accruing from education, but even more significant, these class-differentiated families "...differed not only with respect to the particular ends which they considered to be realistic ones... but also with respect to the particular amounts and types of education which were seen as necessary means to achieve those ends."[32]

In the same study it was found that in addition to the value of education defined in economic terms, the upper and middle classes emphasized a "psychic benefit of education."[33] This particular perceived benefit was not typically associated with the lower classes. Joseph Kahl in his classic study of "common-man boys," supports this

claim. He reports that all of the twenty-four subjects in his sample viewed school solely as a stepping-stone to a job; they had little if any regard for the intrinsic value of education.[34]

The claim that lower class youth value success in school from an instrumental point of view, is supported by Elizabeth Douvan, her thesis being that motivation to succeed varies with social class, and that success is related to different kinds of reward, the kind depending on the social class membership of the individual. Thus she proposes that middle class youth respond to both material and symbolic rewards, whereas motivation to succeed among lower class youth is most often directed toward material rewards only.[35]

The Plowden Report offers further substantiation for the claim that upper classes perceive the value of education differently from their lower class counterparts.[36] This British study of the effect of poverty on lower class academic achievement reached the conclusion that variation in parental attitudes toward education and the imparting of these values to their offspring does more to explain the variation in the children's school achievement than does the material circumstances of the family.

John Porter in his examination of the Canadian stratification system, also emphasizes the importance of parental attitudes and values toward education. He proposes that parental outlook in this regard is a significant determinant

of the offspring's values in regard to education. His contention is that lower class parents often fail to appreciate the value of education and consequently do not encourage their children to do so.[37]

Hyman's use of American data points out the extent to which lower class values in effect reduce "...the very voluntary actions which would ameliorate their low position."[38] His data indicates that the lower classes strive significantly less for traditional success goals, noting specifically their lower aspirations with respect to educational goals: 91 percent of the "prosperous" adults compared to 68 percent of those adults rated as "poor," desired their children to attend college.[39] Similarly, of the "prosperous" males aged 14 to 20 years, 74 percent considered a college education necessary for success in contrast to a mere 42 percent of "poor" males.[40] In general, Hyman found that lower class parents placed less value on formal education, either in terms of high school completion or the pursuit of higher education. In addition, they were less likely to be ambitious both for themselves and their children. It was observed that even when intelligence was controlled, children of the lower classes tended to indicate lower aspirations than their middle class counterparts.[41]

Contrary to the evidence that indicates social class differences in values and aspirations conducive to educational achievement, numerous studies offer another explanation. Richard Stephenson suggests that educational and

occupational aspirations are not greatly affected by social class. In fact, he posits the presence in America, of a general cross-class system of values emphasizing high goal orientation in education.[42] His hypothesis is supported by Coombs and Davies who found in their research, an approximately equal percentage of students from blue collar families (53.5 percent) as from white collar families (58.0 percent) expressing aspirations for success in college.[43]

Both of these studies allegedly lend support to the theory of a "mass society;"[44] a society comprised of individuals possessing relatively homogeneous values regardless of their sub-cultural referents. Visible or measurable differences between the aspiration levels of the various social classes are not due to essentially different values, but rather to factors that result in a psychological adjustment to limited opportunities as they are perceived by the lower classes.

To explain this psychological mechanism of adjustment, H. Rodman has introduced a concept which he terms "value stretch," and he proposes that a consideration of this can explain some of the conflicting evidence regarding social class and values:

> By the value stretch I mean that the lower class person, without abandoning the general values of the society, develops an alternative set of values. Without abandoning the values placed upon success, such as high income and high educational and occupational attainment, he stretches the values so that lesser degrees of success also become desirable.... The result is that the members of the lower class, in

> many areas, have a wider range of values than others within the society... [i.e.,]... a stretched value system with a low degree of commitment to all the values within the range, including the dominant, middle class values.[45]

Through the use of this mechanism, the lower classes need not face continual frustration by their failure to attain the more "prized" values of their society, values often not realizable in light of these people's deprived social circumstances.

In a sense, H. Hyman supports the value stretch concept by positing among the lower classes, an awareness of a lack of opportunity required to attain the successes associated with educational achievement. Apparently, it is this awareness that leads to a subsequent lessening of emphasis on goals that are instrumental for success.[46] Hyman does not argue specifically that the lower classes have entirely rejected the values associated with success;[47] they have only placed less value on success. As he states, "...the lower class individual doesn't want as much success [and] knows he couldn't get it even if he wanted to."[48] It is this realization that results in an adjustment to the limited opportunities which they perceive. By doing so, as A.B. Hollingshead so aptly sait it, the lower classes have "...limited their horizons to the class horizon, and in the process they have unconsciously placed themselves in such a position that they will occupy the same levels as their parents."[49]

Value Contradiction and Value Discrepancy

The existing literature regarding the linkage between social class and values indicates the lack of consensus over the extent to which social classes embrace either similar or diverse values. Of particular concern is the unanswered question of whether or not all classes adhere to values directing behavior toward high levels of educational and occupational status.

A considerably extensive body of research indicates that the social classes of Western industrialized societies do share similar value orientations, but to varying degrees of intensity, the latter being a function of the existing feasibility for translating these values into goals toward which human behavior may be directed. On the other hand, other research and theory supports the view that these social classes possess different values and that this differentiation has as an outcome, the establishment of different goals and hence dissimilar goal-oriented behavior. This latter viewpoint will often see the lower classes as adhering to values considerably different, if not polemic to, those of the middle classes, and therefore these social classes tend to hold different life goals. These goal differences are often specifically in terms of education and vocation.

This issue can be further conceptualized by the application of two mutually-exclusive hypotheses - the "culture-variation hypothesis" and the "subculture hypothesis."[50]

It is in theory only that these hypotheses are mutually-exclusive since in reality, they can overlap or combine.

The subculture approach can be summarized in the following manner:

> The subculture approach assumes that each class is to some degree a self-contained universe, developing a distinctive set of values which guides its member's way of life. While these class subcultures are constrained by the necessity to maintain working relations with other classes within a national framework, the subcultures of different classes are in important respects mutually-contradictory. Objects which are positively valued in one class subculture may be negatively valued in another.[51]

This approach, then, conceives of a society as being comprised of various "subcultures," the latter often distinguished from one another by elements of differentiation attributable to social stratification. At any given time, a culture reflects as its basic values, those of one of the subcultures, namely, the values of what the Marxist might term the "dominant class." Within this composite of subcultures or classes, any values that appear to crosscut class lines do so by virtue of their proliferation through the vitality and strategically superior position of the class from which they originate, i.e., the dominant class which can impose its values on the other classes.

Power therefore, is the basis for the existence of what may appear to be values commonly shared among a society's groups, classes or subcultures. Because of an imbalance of power, (the dominant group possessing the greatest power) certain groups can impose their values on

the others.

However, although out of a necessity, the subordinate groups must accomodate to these values, they do so only in token fashion. The values that they really embrace and that affect goal-oriented behavior, are not necessarily those of the dominant subculture, but rather are derived from and are deeply anchored to the life-situation as it is defined by each particular subculture.

Regarded as subcultures, the dominated groups adhere to a different system of values than that of the dominant group which imposes its set on them. Although the latter set of values is given a seemingly apparent priority, there is really a different set of values motivating the actions and behaviors of each subculture.

Consequently, when examining the values of any given culture, one must look beyond those values which are expounded and supported by the dominant subculture. It is necessary to identify those values that are <u>actually</u> organizers of behavior for a class or subculture. In taking the subculture perspective in regard to class-differentiated values then, the key concept in this study of societal value orientations is "subculture" rather than "culture." Most significantly, differences in the values held among these subcultures are dissimilarities in <u>kind</u> rather than merely in degree.

Contrasting the subculture approach is the "culture-variation" perspective, which assumes the presence of a

basic, cross-class system of values. Class differences in this pattern are conceived of as variations within a scheme of values that is shared over a society-wide dimension. All groups within a given culture or society share or adhere to the same values, although among classes, there are discrepant degrees to which behavior is oriented to goals derived from these values.

The discrepancy arises from the particular life situations of each class; life situations that although arise within the general societal context, are at the same time significantly dissimilar, thus affecting the values of the classes. This effect can be so profound that value-oriented behavior may differ greatly between classes, in spite of their members' adherence to the same basic values. As Turner would explain it, "...the observed differences in values between classes arise because the characteristic life situation in each class makes any given value relatively attainable or unattainable, or relatively comprehensible or incomprehensible."[52]

In effect, the culture variation approach to the examination of values considers all classes as sharing the same values, but because of certain life circumstances, these groups may hold a value with varying degrees of saliency. The degree of this saliency is relative to the extent to which the life situation of a group inhibits or facilitates the realization of goals derived from the shared values.

The culture-variation hypothesis recognizes a distinc-

tion between "values" and "goals." Any given individual may value many things, but not all of his values are necessarily translated into goals. This is made clear for example, in the case where a person values "heroism" yet will not risk his own life in order to save that of another person.

"Value" then, is conceived of in a much broader sense than "goal;" it is more inclusive, yet not void of relevance to particular situations. The basic assumption entails a "functionality of values," or a relationship of rationality between values and behavior. In any situation, the individual may or may not sense his circumstances to be such that a value can be translated into an attainable goal, and thus whether or not this translation will take place.

As seen by Turner, the culture-variation perspective and its inherent distinction between value and goal, provides the following implications for the study of values:

> Applied to class values, such a distinction points our search in the direction of class differences in the translation of society-wide values into goals rather than in the direction of contradictory values. Classes differ, then, not so much in generating distinctive value systems, but more in the relative emphasis and the embodiment of their society's values, which derive from their distinctive life situations.[53]

Various classes find differing degrees of ease with which the attainment of society's values can be realized. The relative emphasis placed on a given value by any class is greatly determined not only by aspirational factors in the psychological makeup of the class members, but also by "...the experience of success and failure in pursuing a given

value, in pursuing related values, or in the observed experiences of one's immediate associates."[54]

For example: stealing may be a society-wide negative value, but due to such factors as the economic circumstances of the lower classes, it is more difficult (at least it is perceived by them to be so) to satisfy wants or needs without stealing than it is for middle class counterparts. Hence, the former may regard the negative value of stealing as less "severe." In effect, there is a "scaling-down" of the degree to which the value is negative. However, this does not mean that there will actually be a redefinition of the "value" of stealing and by this redefinition, an adoption of a positive value for this behavior. It may still remain negatively valued, but to a lesser degree so that its practice will not result in overbearing dissonance.

In addition to scaling-down the negative nature of a value such as stealing, a social class may also do the same to other values, i.e., those that are perceived to be unrealizable as goals. These values may be allocated a much less-salient position in the value system of the class. Behavior may then be directed to perhaps less valued but more attainable goals.

In contrast to the subculture hypothesis that assumes contradictions between the value systems of societal groups, the culture-variation hypothesis posits a society-wide sharing of a value system. Any apparent differences in values among the classes or groups of a society are mere "discrepan-

cies" rather than "contradictions," according to the latter perspective.[55] Taking this approach, then, the key concept for the study of values is "culture" rather than "subculture," and the observed differences in values among the classes is a difference merely in degree rather than in kind.

Aspirations and Expectations

In arguing that there are no significant differences in social class values, R. Stephenson does not deny the overwhelming evidence which indicates class differences in the rate of high educational and occupational goal achievement. However, he attributes this variance to factors other than values, claiming that the differences reflect what he calls class-based "expectations."[56] In referring to occupational choice, he makes a differentiation between "aspirations" and "expectations." He contends that whenever research is soliciting an individual's occupational choice (or for that matter, an educational one), it must be clear as to whether the respondent's choice represents an "aspiration" or an "expectation." In other words, the researcher must know "...whether the individual is stating a plan based upon a realistic appraisal of his life chances or a more generally-held aspiration for life goals in the stratification system."[57]

It is proposed therefore, that an inventory must take into consideration the kind of choice being made by the res-

pondent. In surveying educational and occupational choices, the researcher must clearly distinguish between "aspiration" and "expectation" if an insight into values is to be gained.

The key to this argument is a recognition of the relative accessibility to goals in a society, namely, that there is social class disparity in terms of opportunity for goal attainment.[58] According to this hypothesis, it is this disparity that explains the social class variation in respect to high educational and occupational goal striving.

F. Caro and T. Pihlblad elaborate on the difference between "aspiration" and "expectation," and in the course of this exposition, offer their interpretation of the genesis of each:

> An occupational preference or aspiration (the occupation a person would like to have) may be taken to represent a pure occupational value - uncontaminated by perceived limitations or accessibility. An occupational expectation (the occupation a person thinks he actually will have) may be interpreted as a reality-based compromise with an aspiration.[59]

In operationalizing these concepts, the researchers first asked male high school seniors in a United States metropolitan area, to designate the occupation that each would "like to have" at age twenty-five or thirty. These boys were then requested to indicate the occupation they thought they "actually would have" by that same age. Responses to both items were categorized using an adaptation of the North Hatt Scale,[60] a scale of occupational prestige.

The first-question-response was considered as an indicator of "occupational aspirations." Responses to the

second question were interpreted as being indicative of "occupational expectations." Any observable discrepancy between the aspiration level and that of expectations was interpreted to be "...a reflection of a person's perception of access limitations...."[61]

Results from this investigation indicate that "...those from the upper social strata tended to aspire to higher level occupations than those from lower social class levels, and... expectations tended to run somewhat below aspirations."[62] This finding is consistent with Stephenson's research some years previously. He reports that according to his similarly-structured study, "...while there is a relatively consistent pattern of high occupational aspirations among [lower class youth], their plans [expectations] tend to conform to their position in the stratification system."[63] His conclusion was that the student's socio-economic position affects both aspirations and expectations in the area of occupational choice,[64] but that aspirations were high for all classes.

Aspirations and expectations allegedly serve as indicators of whether or not social class differences in educational and occupational orientations result from disparate value orientation and/or from perceived limitations on the accessibility of "pure" goals.[65] In both the study by Stephenson and that of Caro and Pihlblad, findings are more strongly in favour of the latter explanation.

In a later article R. Rehberg reinterprets Stephenson's

data and discovers a contradictory finding. By collapsing several of the variable categories, Rehberg recomputed the original data and found that the proportion of adolescents who express high occupational aspirations varies positively with social class.[66] On the basis of this finding, he argues in support of the thesis that "...not only... mobility resources are differentially distributed in the stratification system but the success theme and its concomitant values are differentially distributed as well."[67]

Although evidence from these studies is inconclusive in regard to social class and levels of occupational aspiration, there is consistent indication that in comparison to their higher social class counterparts, a considerable proportion of lower class students do not anticipate the attainment of their ideally-held occupational goals (i.e., their occupational aspirations). As Caro and Pihlblad see it, this "aspiration-expectation gap" which is widest among the lower classes is a further indication "...that differentiated perception of the accessibility of various occupations contributes to social class differences in the occupational orientations of male high school students."[68]

It is argued then, that "aspiration" and "expectation" are not conceptually the same thing indeed, although both have a bearing on the individual's educational and occupational goals. In this sense, the two are interrelated and according to "Balance Theory,"[69] are not necessarily gapped; on the contrary, they may be in equilibrium:

> Serious commitment to an occupational goal which is perceived to be unattainable may be a source of considerable frustration. Balance theory suggests that an attempt would be made to reduce the disquieting discrepancy. A adolescent considering his occupational future could reduce the imbalance between what he wants and what he thinks he can get by scaling down his aspirations. This process of balancing preferences and anticipations can be cultural as well as individual.[70]

As Caro and Pihlblad suggest, this mechanism may serve to explain the lower class child's tendency to display rather modest goal preferences in comparison to youth from higher social strata. Such modesty can reflect cultural factors, often one of which is parental discouragement from the fostering of educational and occupational objectives perceived by the parent and other social class incumbents to be unattainable. There is then, in this perspective, a "deflation" of aspirations in order to meet what are considered to be "more realistic" expectations.[71]

Summary

From the review of literature and the theoretical perspectives discussed in this chapter, it is evident that the question of whether or not social classes in industrial societies are differentiated by diverse or conflicting values is an unresolved issue. A considerable body of research finds support for the presence of dissimilar values among the higher social strata and their lower class counterparts. On the other hand, substantial claims have been made disputing this "value contradiction" conception of social class and

values. Proponents of the latter viewpoint argue that society is characterized by a common system of values and that at most, social classes reflect "discrepancies" rather than contradictions in regard to the endorsement of these values.

This value discrepancy is purported to be the result of an unequal allocation of mobility resources, usually in favour of the higher social classes. Consequently, the lower strata are forced to adjust to their disadvantageous station in the status hierarchy. In effect, they are compelled by the realities of their social circumstances, to scale-down their commitment to the generally-held values of society, and in effect "stretch" their value system is that they can be satisfied with less-desirable but more-realizable goals. Such a compromise, it is suggested as a reflection of the scaling-down of aspirations, i.e., ideally-based goals. This psychological mechanism is manifested by an individual's expectations, i.e., reality-based goals, whenever there is an "aspiration-expectation gap."

Since in modern industrial society, educational and occupational achievement are the prime modes of upward social mobility, the study of aspirations and expectations has usually been focused on these two important variables. Therefore, the relationship between social class and social mobility in an industrial society is often examined in terms of values, aspirations and expectations regarding education and occupation.

Footnotes

[1] Frank E. Jones, The Social Basis of Education (Toronto: Canadian Conference on Children, 52 St. Clair Ave. East, 1965), p. 11. This was a paper commissioned by the Canadian Conference on Children and served as a background paper for the National Convention meeting in October, 1965.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Melvin M. Tumin, Social Stratification: The Forms and Functions of Inequality (New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., 1967), p. 12.

[6] Bernard R. Blishen and others, "Introduction to Part VIII, 'Social Stratification'", in Bernard R. Blishen, and others, editors, Canadian Society, Sociological Perspectives, 3rd edition (The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1968), p. 668.

A contrary argument is presented by L.B. Siemens in his claim that "...the greatest development of social rank orders is found in societies with the greatest degree of specialization, heterogeneity and division of labor, all highly characteristic of modern industrial democracies, and especially so of the United States and Canada." See Leonard B. Siemens, "The Influence of Selected Family Factors on the Educational and Occupational Aspiration Levels of High School Boys and Girls", (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1965), p. 35.

Further to this paradox is the distinct possibility that status originally gained through achievement, may over time, be retained on more ascriptive grounds. This is the case, for example, with the person who is virtually reveling in the laurels of long-past achievements, has not maintained this performance over the years, yet retains high status just the same.

[7] Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (California: University of California Press, 1959), p. 11.

[8] Ibid., p. 13.

[9] Blishen, op. cit., p. 668.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Bernard R. Blishen, "A Socio-Economic Index for Occupations", in Blishen and others, editors, op. cit., p. 742.

[12] Richard M. Stephenson, "Mobility Orientation and Stratification of 1,000 Ninth Graders", American Sociological Review, 22 (1957), p. 204.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Louis Schneider and Sverre Lysgaard, "The Deferred Gratification Pattern", American Sociological Review, 18 (1953), pp. 142-149.

[15] Stephenson, loc. cit.

[16] Ibid., p. 204.

[17] Ibid., p. 205.

[18] Clyde Kluckhohn et al., "Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action", in T. Parsons and E. Shils, editors, Towards a General Theory of Action (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 419-420.

[19] Several studies have provided evidence indicating some similarity between the social classes in Canada and those in the United States and Great Britain. See Blishen, and others, editors, op. cit., p. 669.

[20] Otis D. Duncan, "A Socio-Economic Index for All Occupations", in A.J. Reiss, editor, Occupations and Social Status (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961), pp. 116-117.

[21] B. Blishen, "A Socio-Economic Index for Occupations in Canada", op. cit., pp. 744-745.

[22] J. Conant, Slums and Suburbs (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961), pp. 7-32; Patricia Sexton, Education and Income (New York: Viking Press, 1961); A. Kuber and B. Bommarito, The School and the Urban Crisis (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965); Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England), Children and Their Primary Schools, Vol. II (London: H.M.S.O., 1967); Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England) Half Our Future (London: H.M.S.O., 1963), pp. 24-25.

[23] Olive Banks, The Sociology of Education (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1968), p. 84.

[24] Ibid., pp. 74-75.

[25] Stephenson, op. cit., p. 204.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Banks, op. cit., p. 77.

[28] In operational terms, "aspiration" is the level at which an individual would like to either be or attain, generally in reference to education and occupation. In more general terms, "aspiration level" refers to that level to which an individual strives in his self-development. See Francis Caro and Terence Pihlblad, "Aspirations and Expectations: A Re-examination of the Bases for Social Class Differences in the Occupational Orientations of Male High School Students", Sociology and Social Research, 49 (1965), p. 467.

[29] W.H. Sewell, A.O. Haller and M.A. Straus, "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspiration", American Sociological Review, 22 (1957), pp. 67-73.

[30] Ibid., pp. 72-73.

[31] James S. Davie, "Social Class Factors and School Attendance", Harvard Educational Review, 23 (1953), p. 184.

[32] Ibid., p. 185.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Joseph A. Kahl, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of 'Common Man' Boys", Harvard Educational Review, 23 (1953), p. 196.

[35] Elizabeth Douvan, "Social Status and Success Strivings", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 52 (1956), pp. 219-223.

[36] Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England) Children and Their Primary Schools, Vol. II (London: H.M.S.O., 1967), p. 184.

[37] John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 195.

[38] Herbert Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes: A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification", in R. Bendix and S.M. Lipset, editors, Class, Status and Power (Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), p. 427.

[39] Ibid., p. 430.

[40] Ibid., p. 432.

[41] Ibid., pp. 426-442.

[42] Stephenson, op. cit., pp. 204-212.

[43] Robert H. Coombs and Vernon Davies, "Social Class, Scholastic Aspirations, and Academic Achievement", Pacific Sociological Review, 8 (Fall, 1965), p. 98.

[44] Ibid., p. 100.

[45] Hyman Rodman, "The Lower-Class Value Stretch", Social Forces, 42 (1963), p. 209.

[46] H. Hyman, op. cit., p. 427.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

[49] A.B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949), pp. 282-287.

[50] Ralph Turner, The Social Context of Ambition (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1964), p. 9.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid., p. 11.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid., p. 76.

[56] Stephenson, op. cit., pp. 211-212.

[57] Ibid., p. 205.

[58] vide supra.

[59] Caro and Pihlblad, op. cit., p. 467.

[60] Ibid., p. 468.

[61] Ibid., p. 467.

[62] Ibid., p. 468.

[63] Stephenson, op. cit., p. 207.

[64] Ibid.

[65] vide supra. See also W.P. Kuvlesky and R.C. Bealer, "The Relevance of Adolescent's Occupational Aspirations for Subsequent Job Attainments", Rural Sociology, 32 (1967), pp. 270-301; John Scanzoni, "Socialization, n Achievement, and Achievement Values", American Sociological Review, 32 (1967), pp. 449-456; Ralph Turner, The Social Context of Ambition (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1964); Mary Strong, "Social Class and Levels of Aspiration Among Selected Alberta High School Students", (continued on p. 41)

65 (continued) (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Alberta, 1963); William A. Rushing, "Adolescent-Parent Relationship and Mobility Aspirations", Social Forces, 43 (1964), pp. 157-166; W. Sewell, A. Haller and M. Straus, "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspiration", American Sociological Review, 22 (1957), pp. 67-73; W. Bennett, Jr. and Noel Gist, "Class and Family Influence on Student Aspirations", Social Forces, 43 (1964), pp. 167-173; A. Wendling and D. Elliott, "Class and Race Differentials in Parental Aspirations and Expectations", Pacific Sociological Review, 11 (Fall, 1968), pp. 123-132; A. Haller, The Occupational Aspiration Scale: Theory, Structure and Correlates (Michigan: Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, 1963).

These studies are just a sampling of the many that have used the aspiration-expectation concept in the examination of student orientation to education and occupation.

66 Richard Rehberg, "Adolescent Career Aspirations and Expectations: Evaluation of Two Contrary Stratification Hypotheses", Pacific Sociological Review, 10 (Fall, 1967), p. 83.

67 Ibid., p. 89.

68 Caro and Pihlblad, op. cit., pp. 468-469.

69 vide supra.

70 Caro and Pihlblad, op. cit., p. 469.

71 Ibid., p. 470.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE ACHIEVEMENT VALUE ORIENTATION TEST

The theoretical framework providing a basis for the instrument of this particular study is derived from two rather distinct yet interrelated sources. Although this study follows from the work of Bernard Rosen in the area of achievement, specifically those elements which comprise the "achievement syndrome,"[1] it is from the value theory of Clyde and Florence Kluckhohn and Fred Strodtbeck that Rosen finds much of the source for his ideas. It is reasonable therefore, to discuss the concepts underlying the pertinent theoretical content advanced by these theorists, in order to fully comprehend Rosen's perspective and hence that taken by the present research.

The essential part of Rosen's work is based on the conceptualization of "value orientation" advanced by Florence Kluckhohn and Fred Strodtbeck.[2] In turn, their ideas largely stem from Clyde Kluckhohn's theory of values, a conceptualization which he fashioned as a contribution to a theory of social action.[3]

For C. Kluckhohn, the concept <u>value</u> "...implies a code or standard which has some persistence through time, or,... which organizes a system of action."[4] Furthermore, it can be both an individual and a group conception, either explicit

or implicit, "...of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action."[5]

Taking this perspective, "value" is a logical construct and hence not directly observable, much in a similar manner as "culture" or "social structure" lacks direct perceptibility. Although "value" is based on what is said and done by individuals, the term cannot but represent abstractions and inferences from sense data.[6]

"Value" then, is abstracted from verbal and nonverbal behavior. In the course of this abstraction, "...the observer imputes to the actor or actors ideas held in an implicit sense..." noting certain patterns of behavior.[7] He then attempts explaining these regularities by subsuming under the term "value" what he considers to be the important aspects of these processes.

In effect, C. Kluckhohn sees values as being ideas which formulate particular action commitments. In doing so, he assigns the concept to an "action framework" or process. Within this framework, value assumes a directive function:

> To speak of values is simply to say that behavior is neither random nor solely instinctual or reflexive. Values determine trends toward consistency in behavior, whether on the individual or group level. Without a hierarchy of values life becomes a sequence of reactions to stimuli that are related only in physical or biological terms.[8]

Another significant feature of C. Kluckhohn's concept of value is his recognition of an idiosyncratic property of

values. He claims that although for the most part, values are products of culture; i.e., group-based, a value that is characteristic of a group is also interpreted privately by each individual member. Hence it is given a unique meaning by each individual as he organizes and generalizes his perception of the environment, in doing so, imposing these meanings on the external surroundings.[9] This individualization may be so extensive that a particular value can become distinctive of an individual, or in other words, of an idiosyncratic type.[10]

Seen in another way, each individual and group attempts to formulate what may be called a "philosophy of life" which serves to provide a sense of coherence or unity in the environment. Within each group, the individual colors his perception of this philosophy and in doing so, creates an idiosyncratic cognitive and affective orientation.

It is important to note however, that regardless of this individualistic perception of values, there are "underlying principles," "existential assumptions" and what C. Kluckhohn calls "fundamental values," the specific formulation of which is a cultural product.[11] In other words, the individuals derive their cognitive-affective perspectives, or what can be termed "mental-feeling outlook" from "...the life-ways which constitute the designs for living of their community or tribe or region or socioeconomic class or nation or civilization."[12]

From this assumption, C. Kluckhohn suggests the possi-

bility of constructing a given group's views in regard to relations between man and his physical environment, i.e., the universe, and between man and his social environment, i.e., other men. As C. Kluckhohn states:

> These views will represent the group's own definition of the ultimate meaning of human life (including its rationalization of frustration, disappointment, and calamity). Such a "definition of the life situation" for the group contains more than normative and aesthetic propositions; it contains also existential propositions about the nature of 'what is.'[13]

Accordingly, when one has arrived at a "...statement of a given group's definition of the meaning of life, a statement comprising both existential and normative postulates...," then "...the general value orientation of the group concerned..." has been identified.[14]

More specifically, C. Kluckhohn has defined value orientation in the following way:

> ...a value orientation may be defined as a generalized and organized conception, influencing behavior, of nature, of man's place in it, of man's relation to man, and of the desirable and nondesirable as they may relate to man-environment and interhuman relations.[15]

As is the case with values, these "value orientations" may be embraced by either groups or by individuals, and also like values, vary in the extent to which they are implicitly or explicitly held. Taken from this approach, "...value orientation is equally applicable to individuals and to groups."[16] and serves as a distinctive aspect of the action complex since the distinctive character and selective trends of either a group or an individual are connected fundamentally to its value orientation system.

The Value Orientation System of F. Kluckhohn and F. Strodtbeck

Florence Kluckhohn and her associate Fred Strodtbeck have followed C. Kluckhohn's lead, extending the concept of value orientation and its function in the human action framework. The latter recognize the cognitive and affective elements in the value concepts but in addition, emphasize a third aspect of human action, namely, the "directive aspect."[17] It is this element they propose, that is of primary importance in formulating a complete conceptualization of value orientation. With the inclusion of this directive primacy, they define value orientations as:

> ...complex but definitely patterned (rank ordered) principles, resulting from the transactional interplay of three analytically distinguishable elements of the evaluative process - the cognitive, the affective, and the directive elements - which give order and direction to the ever-flowing stream of human acts and thoughts as these relate to the solution of 'common human problems.'[18]

According to this view, these principles transcend individual cultural differences or variations and remain as "cultural universals" when the conceptual core is extricated from the "superficial cultural trimmings."[19]

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck claim that the principles are found in all cultures on an implicit-explicit continuum, varying only in their ranking patterns. Being the universalistic components of value orientations, the principles form a scheme useful in determining intra-cultural variations.[20]

The systematic and ordered quality of these value

orientations derives from the directive element of human action, and serves to provide a certain continuity to the total system as well as to aid in the selection among possible alternative systems.[21]

F. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck argue then, that every culture and every group at any given time in its history, embraces a "set" of basic values which comprise a value orientation:

> All or almost all aspects of the social life of a people give expression, in varying ways and varying degrees to be sure, to the basic values which are characteristic of one culture as opposed to another.[22]

Noteworthy is that a culture's direction toward basic values can alter over time. When this occurs, there is a change in the culture's basic values; an alteration which is of profound proportions.

The significance of their conceptualization is summarized by F. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck in the following manner:

> (1) ...there is a limited number of common human problems for which all peoples at all times must find some solution.
>
> (2) ...while there is a variability in solutions of all the problems, it is neither limitless nor random, but is definitely variable within a range of [logically] possible solutions.
>
> (3) ...all alternatives of all solutions are present in all societies at all times but are differentially preferred.[23]

In essence, F. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck conceive of human thought and action as receiving order and direction from complex, patterned principles that they call "value orientations." In particular, these principles serve to

direct the solution of universal human problems. These solutions, as represented by value orientations, have a logically limited variability, and although all of the possible alternatives are always present in any society or group, there will usually be but one "dominant" complexity, i.e., "a dominant profile of value orientations" at any given time in the history of the group.[24]

F. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck single out five problems as being universal, i.e., they are faced by everyone, everywhere, or in other words, common to all individuals and all groups. Due to the variability of solutions, there is a limited, although substantial, set of combinational alternatives, together giving rise to a certain variety. It is important however, that there is a clustering tendency among the solutions. A preference for one particular solution to a given problem can often determine the answers to the others.

The five universal problems can be stated in the form of questions. Expressed in such a manner they appear as follows:

(1) What is the character of innate human nature? (human nature orientation)

(2) What is the relation of man to nature? (man-nature orientation)

(3) What is the temporal focus of human life? (time orientation)

(4) What is the modality of human activity? (activity orientation)

(5) What is the modality of man's relationship to other men? (relational orientation)[25]

The five problems and their solutions are outlined as value orientations and schematized in the following manner:

The Five Value Orientations and the Range of Variations Postulated for Each[a]

Orientation	Postulated Range of Variations		
Human nature	Evil	Good-and-Evil	Good
Man-nature	Subjugation-to-Nature	Harmony-with-Nature	Mastery-over-Nature
Time	Past	Present	Future
Activity	Being	Being-in-Becoming	Doing
Relational	Lineality	Collaterality	Individualism

[a] This table is of close similarity to that appearing in Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, Variations in Value Orientations, page 12.

The Human Nature Orientation

Man's nature can be perceived as innately evil, a mixture of good and evil, or innately good. It is these three logical alternatives that comprise the human nature value orientation.[26]

The Man-Nature Orientation

The relation of man to nature is given a three-point

range: (1) man is subjugated to nature, i.e., he simply must accept the inevitable and can do little to alter the environment; (2) man is in harmony with nature, i.e., one is merely an extension of the other and there is no conflict; rather there is a unity between the two; (3) and man is capable of mastery over nature, i.e., he is able to overcome natural forces and obstacles with means such as technology.[27]

The Time Orientation

The temporal focus of human life can be given a three-point range: (1) the Past time orientation, i.e., an emphasis on such things as ancestoral worship and family tradition; (2) the Present time orientation, i.e., an emphasis on such things as immediate gratification or short-term goal-oriented behavior; (3) and, the Future time orientation, involving behavior and beliefs such as deferred gratification, planning, change and progress.[28]

The Activity Orientation

The range in variation of the modality for human activity is threefold and consists of Being, Being-in-Becoming, and Doing. With the Being orientation, there is a stress on the release and indulgence of present desires in the personality. The Being-in-Becoming orientation emphasizes a "...containment and control of desires by means of meditation and detachment...."[29] Human personality is considered to be developmental. The Doing orientation is concerned

with activity that results in accomplishments measured by external standards. In this case, the individual is evaluated on the basis of his capabilities and accomplishments and there is a primary concern for "getting things done."[30]

The Relational Orientation[31]

There are three logically possible principles or orientations which relate man to other men. The Lineal subdivision emphasizes group goals rather than those set by the individual, "...but there is the additional factor that one of the most important of these group goals is continuity through time."[32] Usually the goals are selected by the group elders and there is a maintenance of "ordered positional succession" within the group, i.e., primogeniture or kinship patterns.

Collaterality is again an emphasis on group goals and group welfare, often stressing mutual aid. Rather than lineal, the structure in this orientation is lateral, represented by groups such as the extended household. There is generally a unanimity among group members in regard to goal decision or goal selection.

Contrasting the other two possibilities, the Individualistic orientation gives primacy to individual goals rather than goals of the collateral or lineal group. Although the individual has a definite obligation to his group or society, he has the autonomy to set his own goals within this cooperative setting.

Value Orientation: Profiles and Patterns

The whole pattern of value orientations, i.e., the preferred choices, may vary not only between societies but also, and most significant to this study, within a society. Variation then, can be present between sub-groups and classes as well as among individuals. Within each society or segment thereof, there is a profile of value orientations operating somewhere along on the implicit-explicit continuum. It is this profile that outlines the dominant value orientations which influence the group's behavior and direct its actions.

It is most important however, to emphasize that the dominancy of any given value orientation does not preclude or exclude the presence of the other logically possible alternatives. This is made clear by F. Kluckhohn when she points out that:

> ...societies, especially highly differentiated societies, have at one and the same time, dominant cultural orientations and alternative orientations. More precisely, societies have a discoverable dominant profile of cultural orientations and also discoverable substitute profiles.[33]

As an example of a dominant profile, Kluckhohn profiles contemporary American society as emphasizing the mastery-over-nature orientation; the future-time orientation; an individualistic relational orientation, the achieving orientation; and the definition of human nature as evil but nevertheless perfectible.[34] This does not mean however, that all Americans embrace this particular value profile. Nor do

all of them necessarily follow the behavior patterns that are expressive of such a profile.

According to F. Kluckhohn, there can be a kind of variance that is a matter of "...choice in accord with alternative orientations," and that it is erroneous to consider all variance from the dominant profile of cultural integration as being "deviance."[35] She gives to the alternative patterns that can be preferred by groups within a society, the rubric "substitute profiles," and argues that social scientists have tended to overlook the alternative profiles within a culture. It is her criticism that American stratification theory has overlooked this approach to variance and consequently tends to think in static rather than dynamic terms:

> ...there has been almost no attempt to evaluate the specific groups being studied for their degree of adherence to dominant orientations, or conversely, their shift to values and behavior patterns expressive of alternative orientations.[36]

Rosen's Achievement Syndrome

Bernard Rosen points out that there are differing rates of upward mobility among the social strata in an industrial society. He further contends that these varying rates cannot be fully explained in terms of the "life chances" hypothesis which holds that mobility is a function of the differential opportunities available to various occupants of the social structure.[37]

According to Rosen, there is a "psychocultural" dimen-

sion of stratification which can be viewed in terms of a "...function of differences in the motives and values of social classes..." and it is this function that further explicates the differential rates of class mobility.[38] This psychocultural dimension affects social mobility by "...influencing the individual's willingness to develop and exploit his talent, intelligence, and opportunities."[39] Furthermore, this development and exploitation is realized by the individual's adoption of the high valuation placed upon personal achievement and success; a valuation that is conducive to mobility.[40]

Such an orientation toward achievement is comprised of three basic components, together forming what Rosen terms the "achievement syndrome."[41] He conceives of this syndrome in the following manner:

> The first is a psychological factor, achievement motivation, which provides the internal impetus to excel in situations involving standards of excellence. The second and third components are cultural factors, one consisting of certain value orientations which implement achievement-motivated behavior, the other of culturally influenced educational-vocational aspiration levels. All these factors may affect status achievement; one moving the individual to excel, the others organizing and directing his behavior toward high status goals.[42]

Rosen claims that this psychocultural dimension of stratification aids in explaining the differential rates of vertical mobility among ethnic or racial groups[43] and among social classes in the United States.[44] He regards the social classes as being differentially concerned with achievement, particularly as it is sought in terms of status gains accrued

from upward mobility. This differential concern for achievement does much to account for discrepancies in interclass mobility rates.

In essence, Rosen hypothesizes that the various social classes possess to disparate degrees, both the psychological or "personality" component, i.e., achievement motivation, and the cultural factor, namely, the particular value orientation that serves to define and implement behavior which is achievement directed.

By achievement motivation, Rosen meant:

> ...an anticipation of an increase in affect aroused by cues in situations involving standards of excellence. The behavior of people highly motivated for achievement is persistent striving activity, aimed at attaining a high goal in some area involving competition with a standard of excellence. In relation to these standards of excellence, the achievement oriented person directs his efforts towards obtaining the pleasure of success and avoiding the pain of failure.[45]

Value orientations, as defined by Rosen, are:

> ...meaningful and affectively charged modes of organizing behavior, as principles that guide human conduct. They establish the criterion which influence the individual's preferences and goals; they act as spectacles through which the individual sees himself and his environment.[46]

In 1956 Rosen reported a study which attempted to measure both achievement motivation and value orientations.[47] With a sample of 120 New Haven white, male high school sophomores, he measured each individual's achievement motivation by means of the Thematic Apperception Test[48] and determined their value orientations using a direct questionnaire.

His findings in this study support the hypothesis that

social classes differ in the degree to which achievement motivation is operating,[49] and also that there exists a varying proportion of persons within each social class who are in the possession of achievement oriented values.[50] As expected, it was the middle class members of the sample that tended to have the higher degree of achievement motivation and the greater proportion of achievement oriented values.

Three years later, this study was followed by another investigation into the achievement syndrome, this time an examination of the differential rates of mobility among selected ethnic and racial groups in the United States.[51] Again Rosen utilized similar instruments and measured achievement motivation, value orientations, and on this occasion, also attempted to measure the educational and vocational levels of aspiration.[52] It was his contention that in themselves, achievement motivation and values do not determine the areas in which the efforts of the possessor are spent. In order for the individual to excel in the direction conducive to upward social mobility in a society such as contemporary America, he must direct himself accordingly. He therefore argues that:

> Unless the individual aims for high vocational goals and prepares himself accordingly, his achievement motivation and values will not pull him up the social ladder. Increasingly, lengthy formal education, often including college and post-graduate study, is needed for movement into prestigeful and lucrative jobs. An educational aspiration level which precludes college training may seriously affect the individual's chances for social mobility.[53]

Rosen's emphasis on the primacy of occupation in determining status levels in contemporary American society has support from various other sources. F. Kluckhohn for one, states that, "...the occupational role... is the key factor in the American stratification system in so far as we adhere to our dominant profile of culture orientations."[54]

The findings in Rosen's study indicate that social class "...remains more significantly related to achievement motivation than ethnicity..." and although "...both appear to contribute something to the variance between groups,... on the whole social class is a better predictor..."[55] In addition, it was found that social class is significantly related to values conducive to achievement, again accounting for more variance than ethnicity.[56] This same study found also that social class is significantly related to educational aspirations[57] and vocational aspirations.[58]

The Value Orientation Dimension of the Achievement Syndrome

Rosen's work is an attempt to relate systematically, the school achievement of high-school boys to various value orientations. Since a basic tenet in his scheme is the notion that "...social classes... differ in their possession of... implementary values necessary to achievement,"[59] Rosen had to somehow establish the particular values that do have relevance for achievement in American society. It is to F. Kluckhohn's scheme that he looked, selecting three of the five orientations as being especially pertinent to his in-

vestigation: the approach to the problem of man's relationship to his environment; the modality of the time dimension; and the modal relation of man to other men.[60] It was his interest to determine whether or not social classes dissimilarly possess these value orientations. A brief description of their content as modified by Rosen, is presented in the following:

(1) Activistic-passivistic orientation concerns the extent to which a society or sub-group encourages the individual to believe in the possibility of his manipulating the physical and social environment to his advantage. In an activistic society the individual is encouraged to believe that it is both possible and necessary for him to improve his status, whereas a passive-orientation promotes the acceptance of the notion that individual efforts to achieve mobility are relatively futile.[61]

(2) Present-future orientation concerns a society's attitude toward time and its impact upon behavior. A present-oriented society stresses the merit of living in the present with an emphasis upon immediate gratifications; a future-oriented society urges the individual to believe that planning and present sacrifices are worthwhile, or morally obligatory, in order to insure future gains.[62]

(3) Familistic-individualistic orientation concerns the relationship of the individual to his kin. One aspect of this orientation is the importance given to the maintenance of physical proximity to the family of orientation. In a familistically oriented society the individual is not urged, or perhaps not permitted, to acquire independence of family ties. An individualistically-oriented society does not expect the individual to maintain the kinds of affective ties which will impede his mobility.[63]

Rosen used a modified form of F. Strodtbeck's V scale, which consisted of eight items designed as indicators of the relevant orientations.[64] The adopted form added six items to that number, but still was expected to elicit res-

sponses indicative of the possession or lack of, achievement value orientations. Together, these items formed a value index, and a score was derived for every subject by giving a point for each response that was achievement oriented.[65] The mean value score for each class was plotted and there was shown to be a "...linear relationship between social position and values; the higher the class the higher the value score."[66]

Studies Using the Strodtbeck-Rosen Instrument

Florence Kluckhohn's theoretical framework for value orientations has been used on several occasions besides the Rosen application, and the results indicate that this approach is worthwhile.[67] The V scale was used by F. Strodtbeck to investigate the achievement-oriented values of a sample of New Haven Italian and Jewish descendents, including both parents and sons.[68]

From the V scale, results indicated, "...Jews have values more likely to promote high achievement than Italians do, and there is greater agreement among family members."[69] An important point to note about this study is that the V scores for the two sub-groups were not significantly different when socioeconomic status was held constant.

In addition to these findings, Strodtbeck's study provides evidence that the following three values that were contained in his V scale are important for achievement in the United States:

(1) A belief that the world is orderly and amenable to rational mastery; that, therefore, a person can and should make plans which will control his destiny.

(2) A willingness to leave home to make one's way in life.

(3) A preference for individual rather than collective credit for work done.

(4) ...the perfectability of man. Practically speaking, this would mean [a belief] that man could improve himself by [such things as] education and that no one should readily submit to fate and accept a lower station in life,...[70]

Upon examination of these achievement-oriented values, it is quite obvious that their similarity with those outlined by Rosen is not coincidental. Both have contributed considerably to the breaking of new ground in the study of talent potential, focusing primarily on two aspects; the requirements for "success" in the American social system, and the significance of values in achievement. It is Strodtbeck's opinion that these are two areas which are "...relevant to talent identification and worthy of further research along the same lines..."[71] He further suggests the possible effectiveness of revising the V scale by adding more and different items in attempts to extend the practicality of the instrument.[72]

Jayasuriya conducted a study in London using an extended version of Rosen's instrument in an attempt to relate the value orientations of secondary-school boys to their father's occupational level.[73] He found differences between the classes in the predicted direction for not only the instrument but also for its separate elements, i.e., the three

value orientations. However, the social class differences disappeared when I.Q. and school were held constant. The explanation given for this is the tendency to approximate middle-class values by the working-class boys who attend grammar schools, and also a tendency for middle-class boys in secondary modern schools to embrace values closer to those of the working-class.

B.N. Sugarman reports another study carried out in Britain in attempts to investigate the relationship between social class and achievement values.[74] To conduct this research, Sugarman made the assumption that British middle class culture is essentially the same as that of middle class America, at least in terms of the five value dimensions that comprise the dominant value profile posited by F. Kluckhohn.[75] Again the Rosen instrument, as it had been extended by Jayasuriya, was used to obtain data on the values of 540 fourth-form boys in four secondary schools in London. The results of this research support the validity of the use of a scale such as that derived by Rosen and Strodtbeck, in measuring some aspects of the value-orientations of adolescent boys.[76]

In 1967 John Scanzoni published the essence of a study he conducted in a high school located in a northern metropolitan area of the United States.[77] Sampling both junior and senior students, he examined the relationship between the kinds of child-rearing practices that allegedly lead to "n achievement,"[78] and occupational achievement values. The

latter were measured by means of a scale using items which stemmed from the Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck value orientations and from Strodtbeck's original V scale.

For his efforts, Scanzoni found a lack of "...any meaningful relationship for either sex between these particular kinds of parent-child relationships... and any of the indices of occupational achievement values."[79] However, upon investigating the relationship between social class and achievement values, it was found that there were "... significant differences between mean scores... in favor of middle-class boys and... girls in terms of achievement values ...grades... educational aspirations... and occupational aspirations."[80]

The Rosen instrument has been used in Alberta to study the relationships between social class background and value orientations conducive to achievement. In 1963 M. Strong used Rosen's instrument to study a non-probability sample of junior and senior high school students from Edmonton and small surrounding towns and farms.[81] With this instrument she determined the achievement orientation of middle class and lower class members of her sample.

The major finding of Strong's study was that "... social class membership is predictive of achievement orientation at well beyond the .001 level."[82] As the class status level of the respondents increases, so does the likelihood that they will embrace a set of values that will encourage their personal striving for upward social mobility. It was

also found that there was this positive relationship between social class and levels of educational and occupational aspirations, as well as knowledge regarding the occupational structure of that particular society. Another important finding is related by Strong in the following passage:

> ...differences in achievement value orientation and levels of educational and vocational aspiration attributable to membership in other major social categories, such as religious bodies, racial and ethnic groupings, and community of residence, whether city, small town, or farm, fade in importance,... where persons of similar social class in these categories are compared to each other.[83]

The exceptions to these findings were two in number. In the case of Indian and Metis sample members, ethnicity made little difference in their scores on the achievement value orientation test and their choice of occupations. Both were lower, and significantly so, when compared on the basis of class standing.[84] The other exceptions to the prime importance of social class was in the "place of residence" variable; upper and middle class city dwellers in the sample chose occupations of a significantly higher status than their non-city counterparts. However, they did not differ significantly either in achievement value orientation or in the saliency of awareness about the occupational structure.[85]

Summary

This chapter has dealt with the theoretical framework behind the development of the Rosen instrument designed to measure the individual's degree of achievement value orienta-

tion. According to the premises of the theoretical framework, human action is goal-oriented, and the goals are selected by individuals, subcultures, social classes or distinct cultures on the basis of values. A given person or group embraces a pattern or "value profile" which facilitates interpretation of the physical and social environments, and also the solution of problems allegedly faced by all men. Furthermore, it is argued that the value orientations embraced by any individual or group can be empirically identified by an observer using the appropriate instrument.

From this value theory stems the concept of "achievement value orientation" as posited by Bernard Rosen and Fred Strodtbeck. According to these theorists, the achievement orientation, as it exists in its dominant form in the United States, is characterized by three value orientations - activism, futurism, and individualism. It is Rosen's contention that an individual who possesses these value orientations will tend to be more achievement oriented and will likely express this in the occupational realm moreso than a person who does not embrace these values.

Both Rosen and Strodtbeck claim that achievement value orientation can be measured, so they have developed similar instruments designed to achieve this measurement. Since their introduction, the instruments have been used considerably in the United States and in Britain, the results of which consistently reveal a positive relationship between social class and the achievement value scores provided by

the scale. In these studies, it has been shown that the middle class members of the sample studied, embrace the achievement values significantly moreso than do their lower class counterparts. It has been argued that on the basis of these documents of research, the Rosen instrument provides a fruitful approach to the investigation of social class differences in values, at least in the realm of education and occupation.

Footnotes

[1] Bernard C. Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome: A Psychocultural Dimension of Social Stratification", American Sociological Review, 21 (1956), pp. 203-211.

[2] Florence R. Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodtbeck, Variations in Value Orientations (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Company, 1961).

[3] C. Kluckhohn, op. cit.

[4] Ibid., p. 395.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., p. 396.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid., pp. 419-420.

[9] Ibid., p. 409.

[10] Ibid., p. 398.

[11] Ibid., pp. 409-410.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid., p. 410.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid., p. 411.

[16] Ibid.

[17] F. Kluckhohn and F. Strodtbeck, op. cit., p. 5.

[18] Ibid., p. 4.

[19] C. Kluckhohn, op. cit., p. 417.

[20] F. Kluckhohn and F. Strodtbeck, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

[21] C. Kluckhohn, op. cit., pp. 419-420.

[22] F. Kluckhohn and F. Strodtbeck, op. cit., p. 9.

[23] Ibid., p. 10.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid., p. 11.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., p. 13.

[28] Ibid., pp. 13-15.

[29] Ibid., p. 15.

[30] Ibid., pp. 15-17.

[31] Ibid., pp. 17-19.

[32] Ibid., p. 19.

[33] Florence F. Kluckhohn, "Dominant and Substitute Profiles of Cultural Orientation: Their Significance for the Analysis of Social Stratification", Social Forces, 28 (1950), p. 376.

[34] Ibid., pp. 382-383.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Bernard C. Rosen, op. cit., p. 204.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndrome", American Sociological Review, 24 (1959), p. 48.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid., p. 47.

[44] C. Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome", op. cit., p. 203.

[45] Ibid., pp. 204-205.

[46] Ibid., p. 205.

[47] Ibid.

[48] This type of measure was developed by McClelland and his associates in McClelland, D.C., and others, editors, The Achievement Motive (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953).

[49] Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome", op. cit., pp. 205-206.

[50] Ibid., p. 208.

[51] Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndrome", op. cit., p. 47.

[52] Ibid., p. 58.

[53] Ibid., p. 57.

[54] F. Kluckhohn, op. cit., p. 386.

[55] Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndrome", op. cit., p. 53.

[56] Ibid., p. 57.

[57] Ibid., p. 58.

[58] Ibid., p. 60.

[59] Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome", op. cit., p. 207.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid., p. 208.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Fred L. Strodtbeck, "Family Interaction, Values, and Achievement", in D. McClelland, and others, editors, Talent and Society (New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1958), p. 168.

[65] Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome", loc. cit.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Banks, op. cit., p. 84.

[68] Strodtbeck, op. cit., pp. 168-174.

[69] Ibid., p. 174.

[70] Ibid., pp. 186-187.

[71] Ibid., p. 190.

[72] Ibid.

[73] D.L. Jayasuriya, from an unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1960, cited in B.H. Sugarman, "Social Class and Values as Related to Achievement and Conduct in School", Sociological Review, 14 (1966), p. 290.

[74] B.N. Sugarman, "Social Class and Values as Related to Achievement and Conduct in School", Sociological Review, 14 (1966), pp. 287-301.

[75] F. Kluckhohn and F. Strodtbeck, op. cit., pp. 382-383.

[76] Sugarman, op. cit., p. 298.

[77] John Scanzoni, "Socialization, n Achievement and Achievement Values", American Sociological Review, 32 (1967), pp. 449-456.

[78] McClelland, op. cit., Chapter 9.

[79] Scanzoni, op. cit., p. 454.

[80] Ibid., p. 455.

[81] Mary Strong, "Social Class and Levels of Aspiration Among Selected Alberta High School Students" (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Alberta, 1963).

[82] Ibid., pp. 89-110.

[83] Ibid., p. xiv.

[84] Ibid., p. 159.

[85] Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

The population studied in this exploratory research consisted of 249 high school students completing their final year of a matriculation program in one of three Edmonton public schools. It was the objective of the sampling procedure to secure a nonrandom sample that was relatively homogeneous in several important ways. The twelfth-grade level was selected on the assumption that students in this grade would be more likely than their lower grade counterparts, to indicate plans or expectations that are derived from realistic appraisals rather than from fantasy.[1] It is argued that these students are as R. Turner suggests, culminating a period of involvement in the adolescent peer group and preparing to enter the adult world of work and differential status. At this major transitional point, the high school senior is therefore "...confronted by choices whose consequences are real, lasting and relatively inescapable."[2]

The purposiveness of the sample is furthered by the researcher's decision to include only those students who were in the academic stream and whose cumulative records indicated a measured intelligence score above the mean for the Canadian version of the Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Test. Through this selective non-probability sampling proce-

dure, the effect of streaming on aspirations and expectations has been eliminated. Furthermore, the exclusion of students whose measured intelligence is comparatively low should lessen the extent to which this variable has an important effect on the aspirations of school youth.[3]

Again through purposive selection the composite high schools were chosen, and from these urban schools, the sample was drawn. The main criterion for the choice of schools was that together they consisted of students from a wide range of socio-economic background. Sampling was also restricted to public schools only, an attempt to reduce the possible effects of religion by excluding Roman Catholic students.[4] As for the bi-sexual nature of the sample, the proportion of both sexes is relatively equal - 131 males and 118 females.

The scope of this study does not allow for an exhaustive examination of all variables purported to affect aspirations and values. It was intended therefore, that by taking calculated steps in sampling, the relationships among the variables that are examined in this study, will be much less "contaminated" by other factors.

It is recognized however, that a purposive sample has characteristics that can be seen as shortcomings. One disadvantage of the sample used in this study is that it excludes a significant proportion of grade twelve students, namely, those who are not enrolled in the academic stream. The sifting and sorting process has run the better part of its course by the twelfth-grade. Many students have fallen

TABLE 1

EDMONTON SCHOOLS FROM WHICH SAMPLE WAS TAKEN[a]

School	Number of Students
1. Ross Sheppard Composite High School	103
2. Jasper Place Composite High School	44
3. Harry Ainlay Composite High School	102
Total	249

[a] It was the intent of the researcher to gather the data as close to the end of the school term as possible. However, because of this strategy, difficulty was encountered in obtaining an equal proportion of students from each school. The argument given to the researcher was that the time of year did not allow for any teaching sessions to be set aside for this research.

by the wayside, either because they were unable personally to meet the intellectual requirements of school, or they yielded to their disenchantment with school and hence withdrew. Since a student is legally free to leave Alberta schools at age sixteen, by the twelfth-grade, a substantial proportion of young people have dropped out prior to this grade level. Consequently, it is argued that the grade twelve students, particularly those enrolled in the academic stream, form a rather homogeneous group; they have all displayed the necessary persistence and ability to achieve academically.

Because of this homogeneity, a sample consisting of grade twelve matriculants only, does not allow for the inclusion of the considerably large and diverse group of non-matriculants and dropouts. It is recognized therefore, that the absence of representation from the latter group imposes significant limitations on the extent to which findings can be legitimately generalizable to the larger population of students.

The question therefore is one of evaluating the relative merits of various samples, particularly the advantages and disadvantages of homogeneity as compared to heterogeneity. As previously argued, in the case of an examination of educational aspirations, expectations, and achievement values, the interaction among and the associations between numerous variables makes the study of a random heterogeneous sample very unwieldly. It can contribute very little to research in this important area since it allows for too many unknowns to interact and affect the phenomena under study. The most fruitful approach to such studies, seems to be one that can hopefully reduce the number of extraneous variables at work in order that something much more concrete and definite can be reported. It is toward this end that this exploration is aimed. What may be lost in generalizability, is hopefully gained in a more rigorous examination of more manageable data.

Data Collection Procedure

During the Winter and Spring of 1970-71, a two-part questionnaire was prepared by the researcher. Part I was designed to secure some insight into the achievement value orientations of the sample members, and consisted of a scale patterned after the Strodtbeck-Rosen value instrument discussed in the last chapter. The second part of the questionnaire included questions relating to the social class background of the respondent, and his "educational-vocational aspirations and expectations,"[5] as well as other selected background information, an analysis of which is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Shortly prior to administering it to the study sample, the questionnaire was pretested on two different groups of students: the first group a class of University of Alberta students enrolled in an introductory course in Educational Foundations, and the second group being made up of eleventh-grade students attending Jasper Place Composite High School. Although the pilot sample differed considerably from the final sample (it was not possible to obtain any grade twelve students for the pretest), a discussion and consideration of the criticisms made by the former sample in regard to the questionnaire, provided the researcher with valuable suggestions for necessary revisions. Consequently, both parts of the questionnaire underwent revision and the final copy was then administered to a group of 300 students in the preselected schools. A number of the respondents in this sample

did not meet the criteria purposively decided upon, e.g., some students were in a non-academic stream, a number of them had intelligence scores below the mean, a considerable number did not have a recorded intelligence quotient in their records, and some failed to satisfactorily complete the questionnaire. Consequently, the final sample of 249 males and females resulted.

For the most part, the questionnaire was administered by the researcher. However, in the case of one school, he was obliged to accept the assistance of the teachers whose classes were participating in the study. Consequently, it is recognized that this inconsistent administration of the questionnaire may have some effect on the outcome of the study, the extent to which is indeterminable. It cannot be certain, for example, that the supervising teachers did not either directly or indirectly influence their students' disposition toward the questionnaire. Although one must acknowledge this problem, it is hoped that these effects were minimized by the self-explanatory nature of the questionnaire[6] as well as by the specific and clear instructions given to the three participating teachers.

The Data Collected

As previously stated, a number of background items were included in Part II of the questionnaire. This essentially "mundane" or census-type data was located in the latter part so that the respondent would deal with the value orientation

scale first, and hence not feel fatigue or disinterested when responding to it.[7] On the average, completion of the entire questionnaire was easily handled within thirty to forty minutes.

Operationalizing the Variables

(1) Socio-Economic Status

The scale that was employed to measure each respondent's social class position is the Blishen Socio-Economic Index for Occupations[8] and class allocation was based on the occupation of the main wage-earner of the family, usually the father. From data based on the 1961 Canadian census, this scale ranks 320 occupations, grouping them into six indices or classes on the basis of combined standard scores for years of formal education and for income. For this study, the father's occupation which was indicated by the student, was given a number according to Blishen's scale. By collapsing the six occupational categories into three groups, an ordinal scale resulted. The occupations given the two highest tens digits were combined to form a new category called "high" social class. In effect, this class includes those jobs that are generally referred to as professional and large company ownership and management, e.g., law, medicine, architecture, industrial owners. Secondly, those occupations given the next two tens digits, i.e., 50 and 40, were collapsed into a category labelled "middle" social

class. This group represents occupations such as semi-professional and technical work as well as smaller business ownership and management, e.g., draughtsman, surveyors, real estate agents and dental technicians. The remaining occupations given 30 and 20 index values, e.g., the unskilled, semi-skilled and manual labourers, were combined to form the "low" social class category.

Organized as an ordinal variable, the social class structure of the sample shows the following distribution:

TABLE 2

STRATIFICATION OF STUDENTS BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION

Class	Number	Percent
High	77	30.9
Middle	78	31.3
Low	94	37.8
Total	249	100.0

(2) Achievement Value Orientation

In order to measure the value orientations that according to B. Rosen, are related to achievement (Chapter IV), a somewhat modified form of the Rosen-Strodtbeck instrument discussed in the same chapter, was administered to the sample.

This value scale consisted of sixteen items which were intended to cluster around at least the three dominant value orientations which are given the rubrics activistic, future-oriented, and individualistic viewpoint on life.

(a) Activistic-Passivistic Orientation

(1) For a person to be successful in his life, the most important thing is

____ (a) determination and driving ambition
____ (b) getting the "breaks" and luck

(2) It is more important to choose a job that offers good wages than one that offers a challenge to a person's skills and ability

____ (a) agree ____ (b) disagree

(3) The best kind of a job for a person to have is one in which

____ (a) what has to be done on the job is clearly set out for him
____ (b) no one but himself makes the decisions as to what has to be done on the job

(4) The way to be happy is to not expect much out of life but rather to be content with your lot in life and whatever comes along

____ (a) agree ____ (b) disagree

(5) Those who have the best jobs usually get them because

____ (a) they were lucky and had some "breaks" come their way
____ (b) they had a good education

(6) Since a person's future success in life is largely determined at birth, there is little that he can do about it, so he may as well accept it

____ (a) agree ____ (b) disagree

(b) Present-Future Orientation

(7) Since plans hardly ever work out the way one wants them to, there is little point in planning your life in any great detail

____ (a) agree ____ (b) disagree

(8) It is best for a person in this world to enjoy himself now and not worry much about the future

____ (a) agree ____ (b) disagree

(9) In regard to a person's education

____ (a) it is worthwhile for a student to enduce financial hardships in hopes that it will make for a better life later on
____ (b) if a person does not have the money, he would be foolish to endure the financial hardships of a student

(10) In regard to a student's financial spending

____ (a) a student who does not earn much money should spend what he has rather than try to save any
____ (b) a student would do well to try to save some of his earnings for future needs even if he does not have very much money

(c) Individualistic-Collectivistic Orientation

(11) When it comes to a person's friends

____ (a) his family should be among his best friends
____ (b) his best friends should be people other than members of his family

(12) When a person is in some kind of trouble he should

____ (a) seek help from his family
____ (b) try to face it completely on his own

(13) When a young couple gets married

____ (a) it is better for them to live with parents for a while
____ (b) they should immediately set up home on their own

(14) When a person comes to choose a job, he should

____ (a) prefer one near his parents, even if it may mean refusing a better job away from his home town
____ (b) prefer one that will take him away from his parents even if it means that he must leave his home town

(15) When choosing a job, a person should

____ (a) take one that his parents will approve of
____ (b) take one that he likes regardless of whether or not his parents approve

(16) The best kind of job is one in which

____ (a) a person is working in a group with everyone sharing the responsibility and credit that comes from the work
____ (b) one in which a person is working alone and taking his own responsibility and credit that comes from the work

On the questionnaire, the headings were omitted and the items were arranged in a different manner.[9] For the purpose of scoring, the respondent was given a +1 for an achievement-related response (i.e., any agreement with an activistic, futuristic or individualistic orientation), and a -1 for any alternate responses. By a summation of the plus and minus items, the total score on the scale was computed. Ideally, the range would therefore be from +16 to -16. In order to maintain an ordinal-level-analysis, the total scores were classified into "low achievement orientation" (score $\leq$ +10) and "high achievement orientation" (score > +10).

(3) Level of Educational Aspirations and Expectations

Each respondent's educational aspiration level was deter-

mined in a manner similar to that discussed in Chapter III. An attempt was made to differentiate between "aspirations" and "expectations." The latter was determined by asking the question, "After high school, what are your plans for further education?" after which followed a forced choice among the following possibilities (no. 3, page 7 of questionnaire):

(1) technical-vocational school
(2) business college or school
(3) no further education
(4) university (specify)
(5) other (specify).

Again for statistical purposes, these categories were collapsed and a "high" and "low" order was created. It was felt that since the sample included twelfth-grade matriculants only, an expectation that was below the university level was a "low" expectation for this group. Consequently, those respondents indicating plans to attend university were located in the "high" category and those who planned on other forms of education or none at all, were placed in the "low" category.

The level of educational aspirations was established by the almost immediately following question, namely, "If there was nothing stopping you (e.g., lack of money, or any other obstacles that you feel are in your way) what would be your plans for education following high school?" (no. 5, page 7 of questionnaire). Again, the same forced choice possibilities were provided and the respondent selected one. It was assumed that since this choice indicates a more "pure"

value, i.e., "...uncontaminated by perceived limitations or accessibility,"[10] it provides some indication of the persons's aspirations, at least in terms of educational goals. In order to again create an ordinal variable, those selecting university education were rated as "high" aspirers and those selecting the other alternatives were considered to have relatively "low" aspirations.

The aspiration-expectation gap wherever present, was determined by a percentage comparison between the educational level interpreted as being an aspiration level, and that level which the student planned or expected to pursue.

(4) Level of Occupational Aspiration and Expectation

A similar attempt was made to discriminate between one's occupational aspirations and expectations. It may be argued that it is in the realm of occupation that educators are most concerned, since the educational route one plans or would like to follow, is generally instrumental in occupational attainment, and the educational aspect is therefore, only a means to an end. However, since education can be valued on grounds other than purely instrumental ones, it was decided that the educational aspirations can be examined as a phenomenon somewhat separate from the occupational aspirations, always bearing in mind, however, the rather frequently close association between the two. This is recognized also for the two types of expectations, and although the present study examines them separately, it nevertheless

acknowledges that one's expected level of educational attainment will likely have some bearing on one's occupational expectations. That this is the case is particularly true for the "professional" occupations, since a lack of suitable and sufficient education usually precludes one from entering these occupations.

The level of occupational expectations was established by asking the question, "What do you think would be the best job that you expect to be doing ten or twenty years from now?" (no. 12, page 9 of questionnaire). The respondent was requested to name the occupation and to describe the work done on this job.[11]

To determine the level of occupational aspirations, the student was asked the question, "If there was nothing preventing you from taking it, what job would you want most of all to have ten or twenty years from now?" (no. 13, page 9 of questionnaire). Again this question requested of the respondent, the name and a careful description of the occupation of his choice.

In order to classify both the occupational expectation and aspiration levels, the Blishen Socio-Economic Index for Occupations was employed, and again, the occupations mentioned by the respondents were given a "tens" value. These categories were then collapsed into a dichotomy of "high" and "low", the former group consisting of those jobs indexed by the two highest tens digets, and the "low" category made up of all other indices. In effect then, a "high" occupa-

tional aspiration or expectation involved professional and big business managerial or presidency positions, and the "low" group included all other occupations.[12]

Data Analysis

After coding all questionnaire data as well as information obtained from each student's cumulative record filed in his school, the data was entered on computer cards. Cross-tabulations, Chi-Square values and measures of association were produced by a standard computer programme (NONP10) using an IBM 360 computer.

The initial cross-tabulation output was carefully scrutinized. In some instances, it was necessary to collapse categories and recompute the data in order to obtain more meaningful summaries. After selecting the pertinent ordinal categories, the data was then subjected to further analysis with the same computer programme.

Because the data is ordinal, it allows for a measure of association and therefore gamma was selected. Along with this statistical measure which indicates both the degree of association and its direction, i.e., negative or positive, Chi-Square values provided the significance levels of the distributions.

Since it is acknowledged that the sample analyzed is purposive, it is not possible to determine whether or not the 249 students are representative of Edmonton public grade twelve students. Their homogeneity rules out the possibility

of their representing twelfth-grade non-matriculants. Furthermore, since each sample member has a measured intelligence score equal to or above the mean of the Canadian Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Test, the findings from analysis of this group could not legitimately apply to students of below average intelligence. Consequently, this homogeneity precludes confident generalizability. Rather, this study is to be regarded as a test of several hypotheses regarding the nature of Edmonton's social stratification system as well as an evaluation of a value orientation scale derived from the United States and used in a Canadian social setting.

Footnotes

[1] Sewell, Haller and Straus, op. cit., p. 69.

[2] Turner, op. cit., p. 3.

[3] Educational and occupational aspirations have been found to be related to measured intelligence. For example: see Sewell, Haller and Straus, "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspirations, op. cit.; Stubbins, "The Relationship Between Level of Vocational Aspiration and Certain Personal Data", Genetic Psychology Monographs, 41 (1950), pp. 327-408; Kahl, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of 'Common Man' Boys", op. cit.; Berdie, "Why Don't They Go to College", Personnel and Guidance Journal, 31 (1953), pp. 352-356; Pavalko and Bishop, "Peer Influences on the College Plans of Canadian High School Students", The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 3 (1966), pp. 191-200; Pavalko and Bishop, "Socioeconomic Status and College Plans: A Study of Canadian High School Students", Sociology of Education, 39 (1966), pp. 288-298.

[4] A number of studies have investigated the effects of religious background on value orientation and educational-vocational aspirations. Generally, the results are inconclusive in determining the saliency of this variable on aspirations. For example: see Strodtbeck, "Family Interaction, Values and Achievement", in McClelland, et al., eds., Talent and Society (New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1958), pp. 135-194; Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity and the Achievement Syndrome", op. cit., pp. 47-60; Siemens, op. cit.; Strong, op. cit.

[5] vide supra.

[6] In all of the sessions supervised by the researcher, only a few students spent longer than thirty minutes completing the questionnaire, and hardly any found a need for additional instructions. The few questions that were asked by a small number of respondents were not reflective or indicative of any underlying and pervading misconceptions of the task.

[7] See A. Oppenheim., Questionnaire Design and Attitude Measurement (New York: Basic Books Inc., Publishers, 1966), p. 58.

[8] Blishen, op. cit., pp. 741-755.

[9] See Appendix A.

[10] vide supra.

[11] According to Oppenheim, this format for determining the individual's occupation by way of questionnaire, keeps the "unclassifiables" to well under 10 percent. See Oppenheim, op. cit., p. 58.

[12] Upward mobility has most often been measured in these terms, i.e., the individual's aspirations in comparison to his father's occupational status placement. Of course, if the former person aspires to an occupational level below his father's, he is usually considered as being "downwardly mobile".

However, this mode of measurement works best with members of the lower status levels, and becomes progressively more difficult to use as one goes up the occupational prestige hierarchy. For example: it is facile to compare a lower class person's mobility aspirations with his father's occupation but it is not so easily done in the case of a person whose father is at the highest occupational level. Is it possible for a person in this case to aspire higher than his father's level? If so, how can this be measured within the confines of the scale used for lower status individuals and maintain a consistent form of measurement?

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL CLASS, ACHIEVEMENT VALUE ORIENTATION AND LEVELS OF EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION

This chapter discusses the relationship between social class and two of the three components of Rosen's "achievement syndrome," namely, achievement value orientation and educational-occupational aspiration levels. Rosen has argued that these factors affect social mobility by providing the individual with both a mode of organizing his behavior and also viable directions toward which this behavior can be aimed in order to attain upward mobility in a modern industrial society.

The format of this chapter is basically a two-part analysis of findings. The first section discusses the relationship between social class and a measure of achievement value orientation, and is further aimed at evaluating the appropriateness or validity of the instrument as a useful research tool contributing to further insight into the mobility pattern of society in Edmonton. Part 2 deals with the educational-vocational aspirations of the sample members. In both portions, the objective is to relate the statistical findings to the theoretical discussion presented in Chapter II in order to explain these findings.

Social Class and Achievement Values

When "values" are defined in a very general sense, it is difficult to identify those which are class-based. It can be argued for example, that values such as "success," "hard work," "achievement" and "honesty" are so all-encompassing that most social groups show at least some adherence to them. Consequently, it is necessary to consider values in more specific terms in order to fruitfully approach the question of social class value differences.

Instead of considering a number of basic values that are so indefinite they can be linked to most groups, this approach is concerned with specific values, particularly, those placed on education and occupation. The most widely-used method for this approach is the utilization of attitude scales that are included in questionnaires.

The Strodtbeck-Rosen scale is one such value inventory and an adaptation of this instrument is the value scale that is used in this study (Part I of questionnaire). Consequently, the items comprising the latter were designed to cluster into three factors or dimensions: "activism-passivism," "present-future orientation," and "individualism-collectivism." However, when this scale was administered to the 249 sample members, a subsequent factor analysis revealed that the three dimensions explain less than 30 percent of the variance. It seems then that this scale of value indicators, although similar in content and meaning to Rosen's scale, has more than three components. In view of this multi-

dimensionality and the relatively low loadings of a number of the items, it is strongly suggested that further use of this scale warrants a rigorous validation prior to usage.

However, since each item seems to indicate at least to some extent, the aspects of achievement that Rosen has identified, it was decided to retain this index as a measure of values conducive to achievement. The use of such an index gives a means of empirically investigating the question of whether or not a particular group of Edmonton public school seniors differentiated by social class, also differs significantly in the extent to which it holds achievement values. If the class differences are considerable, then this finding may serve as some support for the hypothesis that the relationship found between social class and achievement values among groups in the eastern United States, can be generalized to a particular group of Edmontonians. In addition, it is hoped that through further discussion, this study will provide a more thorough evaluation of the value instrument's appropriateness in this Alberta city.

(1) Achievement Value Orientation

The findings of this study contradict the hypothesis that social class is not related to values and beliefs purported to facilitate upward mobility (Hypothesis I, Chapter I). On the contrary, it is found that the higher the social class position of the student, the greater the likelihood of his scoring high on achievement oriented items comprising the

TABLE 3

ACHIEVEMENT VALUE ORIENTATION BY SOCIAL CLASS

Social Class Position	Achievement Value Orientation				Total
	Low		High		
	n	%	n	%	
High	16	20.8	61	79.2	77
Middle	24	30.8	54	69.2	78
Low	38	40.4	56	59.6	94
Total	78		171		249

Gamma = 0.305 X^2 = 7.611 D/F = 2 P = 0.022

Achievement Value Orientation Test. By grouping the scores into "low achievement orientation" and "high achievement orientation," the results indicate a moderate positive association (gamma = 0.305) significant beyond the .05 level.

As Table 3 shows, the percentage of high social class students who scored "high" on the achievement value test is 79.2 as compared to 69.2 percent and 59.6 percent of the middle and lower stratum respectively. In other words, although less than one-half of the low stratum have a low score, only one-fifth of the highest stratum are in the "low" category. Interestingly, the percentage difference between each class from the lowest to the highest stratum is approximately 10 percent, indicating that the relationship is a

linear one.

It is noteworthy that there is a relatively high proportion of achievement oriented students within the lower stratum. This finding is contradictory to what Rosen and Strong report. The former researcher found that of the two lowest social classes in his sample of 120 male New Haven sophomores, the percentages indicating high value scores are only 33 percent and 17 percent respectively.[1] Similarly, for Strong's sample of 1105 northern Alberta junior and senior high school students, of the "lower middle" and "low" social strata, only 31.6 percent and 18.9 percent respectively were found to have "high" achievement orientation.[2]

There are at least several possible explanations for the relatively high percentage (59.6 percent) of high achievement oriented but lower social class students in the present study, as compared to the low proportions in both the Strong and Rosen studies. An obvious reason, of course, may be due to the differing means of determining the categories of achievement value orientation. As previously outlined in Chapter IV, for the purposes of analysis, this study classified all scores $\leq +10$ as "low achievement orientation" and all scores $> +10$ as "high achievement orientation." On the other hand, since she was dealing with a much larger sample, Strong used three categories: "low achievement orientation" (score -7 to 0) "average achievement orientation" (score +1 to +6) and "high achievement orientation (score +7 to +11).[3] In the present study, it was felt

that a negative total score seemed to be an orientation other than achievement, and if the scores were to be ranked relative to +16, i.e., the highest possible achievement orientation score, then a score should be at least +11 to be categorized as "high." Obviously, because of the differences in categorization, the proportions in each rank will likely differ considerably for the two studies.

Another reason for the variation in the proportion of students with "high" achievement value scores, may lie in the differing nature of the samples studied. The present study has several times emphasized the homogeneity of the sample in terms of grade and intelligence levels as well as school stream. It is very possible then, that in the sample, the lower social stratum consists of a great proportion of students who are academically achievement oriented, otherwise, they would be much less likely to be in the academic stream of the twelth-grade. Rosen on the other hand, studied a much smaller sample of male sophomores, and Strong included both junior and senior high school students of both sexes. Neither Strong nor Rosen report any control measures for differences of measured intelligence among their samples.

Furthermore, although Strong's research included a number of Edmonton school students, the sample also included a high proportion of non-urban residents. She reports that this feature of the sample had a significant effect on achievement orientation in her study.[4] Specifically, she

found that "...High Achievement Orientation scores increase from farm to city."[5]

It is also noteworthy that although Strong does not report any validation of the instrument used in her study of value orientations, the present research has emphasized that a factor analysis of the revised instrument indicates the necessity of questioning the extent to which the test can be considered a valid one. Were there any indication of a similar test of validity by the Strong study, perhaps a more tenable comparison of findings would be possible.

The results of this study thus indicate that for the sample of Edmonton high school seniors, there is a positive association between social class and the preponderance of values and attitudes allegedly conducive to upward social mobility in industrial societies. As social status increases, so does the proportion of high scores on the Achievement Value Orientation Test. It would seem that in this regard, social stratification has an effect on the extent to which achievement orientation is fostered among members occupying various levels of social strata in Edmonton, Alberta. In this sense, indications are that the social stratification system in this city bears at least some similarity to that of the eastern United States. However, it would appear that the former system is less rigid than the latter as evidenced by the relatively high proportion of lower class students in the sample who indicate high achievement orientation. Whether or not other evidence bears this out further will

be discussed in the second part of the chapter.

(2) Achievement Value Orientation and Educational-Occupational Aspirations

A possible way of assessing the validity of the interpretations discussed above, is to test the relationship between achievement value orientation and indicators of more specific values. Rosen suggests that the school provides a situation in which achievement value orientation can be directed, and exploring this possibility, he reports that value scores are related to "educational aspiration."[6] For his sample, "...subjects with high value scores [are] proportionately more likely to want to go to college than are those with low scores: 61 percent of the former as compared with 33 percent of the latter."[7] Strong also suggests that achievement value orientations significantly influence educational and occupational aspirations and upon analyzing this relationship, reports findings in support of this suggestion.[8]

On the basis of this earlier research, it seems reasonable to expect for the present study, a significant association between achievement value scores and educational and occupational aspirations. For the purpose of exploring this relationship, cross-tabulations were run for both sexes. In all four bivariate tables, the association is very low, the Chi-Square values are negligible, and the probability of this level of association occurring by chance is extremely high. In other words, there is no statistically meaningful

relationship between achievement value orientation and either educational or occupational levels of aspiration.

Regardless of the achievement value score, i.e., "high" or "low," a much greater proportion of both sexes have high rather than low educational aspirations. In other words, low achievement value orientations do not significantly reduce the student's aspirations to pursue a university education. This is essentially the same in the case of occupational aspirations, except for females. For the latter sex, there appears to be an equal proportion of high and low aspirants among those girls who score low on the value orientation test. Tables 4 and 5 provide a summary distribution of the frequencies and percentages resulting from the cross-tabulation of these variables.

TABLE 4

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS BY VALUE ORIENTATION

Educational Aspirations	Achievement Value Orientation			
	Low		High	
	% Males	% Females	% Males	% Females
High	72.5 (29)	63.2 (24)	78.0 (71)	70.0 (56)
Low	27.5 (11)	36.8 (14)	22.0 (20)	30.0 (24)
No.	(40)	(38)	(91)	(80)
		Gamma = 0.148		0.153
	D/F = 1,	X^2 = 0.469		0.552
		P = 0.493		0.457

TABLE 5

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS BY VALUE ORIENTATIONS

Occupational Aspirations	Achievement Value Orientation			
	Low		High	
	% Males	% Females	% Males	% Females
High	67.5 (27)	50.0 (19)	75.8 (69)	57.5 (46)
Low	32.5 (13)	50.0 (19)	24.2 (22)	42.5 (34)
No.	(40)	(38)	(91)	(80)
		Gamma = 0.203		0.150
	D/F = 1,	X^2 = 0.983		0.586
		P = 0.321		0.444

The results of this particular investigation suggest that there is a considerable difference between what is being measured by the Achievement Value Orientation Test and the educational-occupational aspirations of the members in the sample. On the basis of the commonly-held conceptualization of "aspirations," one's level of educational and occupational aspiration is an indication of one's value regarding education and occupation,[9] i.e., the higher the levels one aspires to, the greater he values these goals. Furthermore, Rosen claims that educational and occupational aspirations are closely related to achievement value orientation since they are more specifically defined value spheres.[10] His implication is that a person with a high achievement value score

will likely direct his behavior to high educational and occupational goal attainment.

However, on the basis of the lack of relationship between scores on the Achievement Value Orientation Test and levels of educational and occupational aspirations, the linkage between the two that is proposed by Rosen, is open to serious doubt. It is highly possible as Kahl[11] and Scanzoni[12] claim, that achievement cannot always be interpreted in educational and occupational terms. Both men have put forward the argument that achievement may be directed toward other goals, i.e., poetic, artistic, religious goals, or toward physical or sexual prowess, all of which are distinct from and often detrimental to "success" in educational and occupational terms.[13,14] In the case of the achievement values purported to be measured by the adapted Rosen instrument used in this study, it is very possible that whatever is being measured is not necessarily reflecting the educational and occupational spheres of values.

Consequently, this adds even further doubt to the validity of the instrument used in this study. Contrary to Rosen's finding, this study did not find a significant relationship between the value scores and either educational or occupational aspirations. In effect, if the instrument has in fact measured achievement value orientation (and factor analysis has thrown considerable doubt on this), these achievement values are not necessarily oriented toward educational or occupational goals. It seems to be the case that a student

will likely indicate high educational and occupational aspirations regardless of whether or not he scores highly on the Achievement Value Orientation Test.

This finding tends to force the conclusion that either the instrument does not measure what it is purported to measure, or, if it does indicate achievement value orientation, then these values are not being expressed in terms of educational and occupational goals as Rosen claims is the case in the "achievement syndrome."[15] In the present sample, it appears that any relationship found between social class and the scores on the Achievement Value Orientation Test, does not have any evident bearing on the educational and occupational aspirations of Edmonton high school seniors in the academic stream.

It would appear therefore, that the Strodtbeck-Rosen instrument and the concept of the "achievement syndrome" have questionable value as predictors of educational and occupational goal orientation. If society in Edmonton is more open than in many places in North America, there is a possibility that this feature of the social stratification system has a direct effect on social mobility. Together with the rapidly developing economy of Edmonton and the province of Alberta in general, the openness of the stratification system may be such that <u>all</u> social classes either perceive or experience the benefit of education (even if only in the economic sense), without necessarily being adjusted in terms of internalized values conducive to achievement. Values are

generally acquired only through a long process of socialization and in Edmonton, there is the possibility that such a process has not had sufficient time to set in. Society in this city and in other parts of Alberta is relatively new and characterized by a rapidly developing industrial economy. It is therefore a distinct possibility that such a society is not comprised of various groups that are significantly differentiated in terms of values, at least in the educational and occupational spheres. Until a more valid value inventory is used in future studies, this hypothesis remains tenuous, but nevertheless worthy of further investigation.

Social Class and Educational-Occupational Aspirations and Expectations

This section of the chapter reports and discusses the major findings from data gathered by Part II of the questionnaire, specifically, the relationships found between social class and levels of aspiration in both educational and occupational dimensions. An attempt will be made to relate the significant findings to the theories presented in earlier chapters, and to the hypotheses formulated in Chapter I. The major results of statistical analysis will be summarized in this chapter and presented in table format. Although relationships are examined for the 249 individuals, this chapter presents also, tables of cross-tabulations for both males and females as separate sub-samples.

(1) Social Class and Educational Aspirations

The level of educational aspirations as it was categorized into a "high" and "low" ranking, can also be thought of in terms of "university aspirations" and "non-university aspirations." Hereafter, this variable will be referred to in terms of the latter nomenclature.

With this explanatory note, an examination and consideration of the collected data follows. Findings presented are related to the relevant hypotheses formulated in Chapter I.

Hypothesis II: The educational aspiration level of high school seniors is not related to social class for either males or females separately.

Hypothesis III: The educational aspiration level of male high school seniors is higher than that of their female counterparts.

TABLE 6

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION LEVELS OF HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS FROM VARIOUS SOCIAL STRATA

Social Class Position	Educational Aspirations				Total
	Non-University		University		
	No.	%	No.	%	
High	17	22.1	60	77.9	77
Middle	23	29.5	55	70.5	78
Low	29	30.9	65	69.1	94
Total	69		180		249

Gamma = 0.143, X^2 = 1.805, D/F = 2, P = 0.406

Table 6 shows the educational aspiration levels for the 249 sample members. Although there is a positive gamma value of 0.143, the association between social class and level of educational aspiration is very small and not significant at the .05 level. In terms of percentage differences between the highest and lowest social class, there is less than a 10 percent difference in the proportion of high social class students who aspire to university as compared to their lower class counterparts.

The percentage distributions for both males and females as separate subgroups are summarized in Table 7.

TABLE 7

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION LEVELS OF MALE AND FEMALE HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS FROM VARIOUS SOCIAL STRATA

Social Class Position	Educational Aspirations			
	% With Non-University Aspirations		% With University Aspirations	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
High	17.9 (7)	26.3 (10)	82.1 (32)	73.7 (28)
Middle	25.6 (11)	34.3 (12)	74.4 (32)	65.7 (23)
Low	26.5 (13)	35.6 (16)	73.5 (36)	64.4 (29)
No.	(31)	(38)	(100)	(80)
			Gamma = 0.152	0.141
			D/F = 2, X^2 = 1.016	0.904
			P = 0.602	0.636

Table 7 shows that almost three-quarters (73.5 percent) of lower class males aspire to university level education. This proportion is less than 10 percentage points below the proportion of similar aspirants in the high stratum, and less than 1 percent below those males of the middle class who have university aspirations. Although there is a slight positive association (gamma = 0.152) between social class and university aspirations, the probability of significance is far below the .05 level.

The relationship between social class and educational aspirations for the females is shown also in Table 7. Again there is a positive association (gamma = 0.141) but obviously an extremely low one and not significant at the .05 level. In the case of females, there is only a difference of 9.3 percent between the lowest and highest social stratum in regard to the proportions holding university level aspirations.

It is also apparent from Table 7 that the males generally aspire to higher educational goals than their female counterparts. In fact, the category of girls with the highest percentage of university aspirants, namely 73.7 percent, is essentially only as high as the male category with the lowest percentage of similar aspirants, i.e., the low social stratum of which 73.5 percent aspire to university level education.

The findings summarized by Table 7 indicate support for the hypothesis that social class is not related to educational aspirations, either for male or female high school

seniors in this sample. In addition, there is some indication that these aspirations are generally higher for males than for females within the groups analyzed.

It is important to reiterate the point that this sample is a relatively homogeneous one. It may be representative of only a particular group of high school seniors in the public schools of Edmonton, i.e., those seniors who are not below average measured intelligence and who are enrolled in the academic stream. A further consideration is the possibility that the lower class members of the sample, since they are in rather "select" company in terms of academic qualifications, have perhaps identified with this group's high goal orientation. In doing so, they aspire to loftier levels of education than the majority of their social class members.

This possibility is consistent with a variety of reference group theory which holds that lower class students, in order to facilitate their upward mobility, may take on the values and attitudes of the groups to which they are striving to gain membership. As R. Turner put it, these students "...'anticipate' their future membership by learning in advance the attitudes which will be appropriate when they achieve the desired membership."[16] If this is the case with some lower class members of the sample, then it is quite possible that one of the things they value is a high level of education.

The finding that the educational aspiration level of the females appears to be somewhat lower than their male

counterparts is rather interesting and worthy of elaboration. In this society the traditional role of the female has been essentially one of "home-maker" and consequently education and occupation have been of secondary importance as part of the female's role expectations. Although recent rumblings have been made by some women publicly insisting on drastic revisions of their role expectations (e.g., women's liberation movements), there is little concrete evidence that tradition has been abandoned, at least by a majority of the females in this society.

There does appear to be however, an increasing proportion of women in pursuit of high levels of education and taking places among the traditionally male-oriented strongholds in the occupational fields.[17] This phenomenon is exemplified in some professions where there is an increasing enrollment of women filling these occupations. However, since this trend seems to be a process occurring only over considerable time, such a transformation has a long way to go before it is complete.

Of particular interest to this study is the finding that the educational aspirations of the female seniors is lower than that of their male classmates. One would think that of all the young women in this society, the group in the sample are in an excellent position academically to pursue educational levels that will provide them to qualify for those stations in society that have traditionally been held by males. It is interesting that among the middle and lower

classes in particular, a lower percentage of females than males aspire to university levels of education.

If such is the case for a select group of young women who are in a rather advantageous position academically, it would be interesting to investigate the impact of the liberation ethos among less strategically-situated groups of women. Perhaps there are fewer true "liberators" than has been suspect, and that most girls still subscribe to the mode of upward social mobility provided by marriage, or else the liberation supporters come from groups of women other than school students.

(2) Social Class and Educational Expectations

The educational aspiration of an individual is theoretically considered to be a "pure" value, i.e., a goal, the attainment of which is perceived by the individual as "desirable." It is a goal which one would "ideally" like to attain; one that he would like to reach if there was nothing tangible or otherwise, preventing him from its realization.

In contrast, the educational expectation level is considered to be the goal that an individual expects to realize. Theoretically, it is the goal that is set in light of the person's appraisal of his opportunities, resources and life chances regarding educational pursuits. If he considers his resources as being inadequate to allow for the attainment of his aspired educational level, then he may set a lower educational goal which he considers "realistically" attainable.

When this accommodation to lower goals is in operation, there is said to be an "aspiration-expectation gap," i.e., a gap between the ideal educational goal level and that of the realistic one. Furthermore, according to considerable research, this appraisal and the resultant aspiration-expectation gap is often a function of social class. It is one of the interests of this study to examine this gap as it may or may not exist for members of the sample.

For the purposes of discussing the educational expectations of the sample, a differentiation will be made similar to that for aspirations. Therefore, "high" educational expectations will be those that entail university level pursuits, and expectations will be considered "low" if they fall below university-level post-secondary education. On this basis then, educational expectations will be categorized into "university expectations" and "non-university expectations," and it is under these terms that the tables will summarize the pertinent data.

In regard to educational expectation levels, the pertinent hypotheses formulated in Chapter I include the following:

Hypothesis IV: The educational expectation level of high school seniors is positively related to social class. This relationship is expected to apply also to males and females separately.

Hypothesis V: The educational expectation level of male high school seniors is higher than that of their female counterparts.

Table 8 clearly indicates a significant relationship

TABLE 8

EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATION LEVELS OF HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS FROM VARIOUS SOCIAL STRATA

Social Class Position	Educational Expectations				Total
	Non-University		University		
	No.	%	No.	%	
High	12	15.6	65	84.4	77
Middle	23	29.5	55	70.5	78
Low	38	40.4	56	59.6	94
Total	73		176		249

Gamma = 0.396, X^2 = 12.606, D/F = 2, P = 0.002

between social class and educational expectations. Among the low social stratum 59.6 percent expect to enter university after completing high school, while for the middle and high social class groups, 70.5 percent and 84.4 percent respectively, expect to pursue a similar educational goal. In this distribution, only 15.6 percent of the high stratum do not expect to go to university, while among the low class, 40.4 percent, almost three times as many students, have a similarly low expectation. The gamma score of 0.396 and a significance at the .002 level indicates a moderate and positive association between social class and educational expectations.

A clearer display of this relationship may emerge by

dividing the sample according to sex and examining the separate distributions to gain an insight into the effects of this variable. Table 9 is a summary of the relationship between social class and educational expectations for both sexes separately.

TABLE 9

EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATION LEVELS OF MALE AND FEMALE HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS FROM VARIOUS SOCIAL STRATA

Social Class Position	Educational Expectations			
	% With Non-University Expectations		% With University Expectations	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
High	10.3 (4)	21.1 (8)	89.7 (35)	78.9 (30)
Middle	25.6 (11)	34.3 (12)	74.4 (32)	65.7 (23)
Low	37.4 (17)	46.7 (21)	65.3 (32)	53.3 (24)
No.	(32)	(41)	(99)	(77)
		Gamma = 0.430		0.379
		D/F = 2, X^2 = 7.071		5.966
		P = 0.029		0.050

In examining the column for males having university level educational expectations, there is a significant positive association between social class and university expecta-

tions (gamma = .430 and P = .029). This column indicates that the higher the social class, the higher the proportion of males expecting to attend university following their graduation from high school. The percentage difference between the highest and lowest social stratum for this educational expectation level is 24.4 percent; almost 90 percent of the high social group indicate university expectations compared to about 65 percent of the lower class boys. For males of the middle social class, the distribution of educational expectations is similar to that of their aspirations (Table 7) - the proportion of this class with high expectations is smaller than the high social class proportion, but greater than that of the low stratum boys. These figures indicate that the level of educational expectations increases with an increase in social class among the male seniors.

Table 9 shows that this relationship holds also for the female subsample. Only 55.3 percent of the lower class girls expect to attend university while at the same time, 65.7 percent and 78.9 percent of their middle and higher class counterparts indicate similar expectations. The association between social class and educational expectations for the female seniors is moderately positive (gamma = 0.379) and significant at the .05 level, thus supporting Hypothesis IV.

Hypothesis V is given support by the distributions again provided by Table 9. At all social class levels, the percentage of males with university expectations is greater than

the percentage for females of the same social stratum. It is only among the highest social stratum of girls that the proportion expecting to enter university is larger than the proportion of even the low social class males.

There is then, indications of an aspiration-expectation gap in the realm of educational goal orientation for both sexes separately and combined. An indication of the discrepancy between the two types of goals is provided by Table 10.

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS BY SOCIAL STRATA

Social Class Position	High Educational Aspirations		High Educational Expectations	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
High	82.1	73.7	89.7	78.9
Middle	74.4	65.7	74.4	65.7
Low	73.5	64.4	65.3	53.3
No.	100	80	99	77

An examination of Table 10 shows that among the lowest social stratum of males, 73.5 percent aspire to attend university but only 65.3 percent expect to realize this goal. In contrast to this mild aspiration-expectation gap existing

for the low class males, the middle stratum has the same proportions of high aspirations and expectations, i.e., 74.4 percent aspire to university and the same percent expect to go. This lack of an aspiration-expectation gap is true also for the middle class females in the sample. It appears that the individuals of both sexes in this social class who profess to "want" to attend university, perceive no obstacles deterring them from planning or expecting to realize their desired goal.

Table 10 reveals another interesting fact regarding the level of educational aspirations and expectations of both sexes in the sample under study. The proportion of middle class boys aspiring to university is almost the same as the proportion of lower class boys with the same aspirations, i.e., 74.4 percent and 73.5 percent, respectively. This is also true of the girls in the sample. The proportion of middle class girls aspiring to a university education is 65.7 percent as compared to 64.4 percent of lower class girls who have these aspirations.

However, in terms of educational expectations, there is a fairly marked differential between the two social strata. In the case of middle class boys, 74.4 percent expect to attend university after completing high school, while only 65.3 percent of boys in the lower social class indicate this expectation. This percentage differential is about the same for the female sample members of the study also. Table 10 reveals that although 65.7 percent of the girls in the

middle class of the sample expect to attend university, only 53.3 percent of their lower class counterparts indicate similar expectations.

At least two possibilities may serve to explain these findings. This phenomenon may have arisen because of the highly selective nature of the sample. It is possible that due to the fact that the lower social class students are high achievers and have persisted in school beyond the legal school-leaving age, levels of educational aspirations for this group of students are as high as those of their middle class schoolmates. It is likely however, that, as indicated by educational expectations, the lower class students perceive obstacles in the way of the attainment or realization of their ideal goals. In contrast, the middle class students apparently do not envisage such obstacles, judging from their high level of expectations as compared with their expectations.

The fact that the proportion of middle class individuals with high aspirations is the same as those with high expectations may be a manifestation of a mechanism by which this group activates high status striving. By making their expectations as high as their aspirations, the middle class students set higher goals and expend the required energy necessary to attain these goals.

Whichever explanation is most tenable is presently indeterminable. Also, as was indicated already, this finding may be due to chance and hence not worthy of any

further speculation. There is always the danger in social research of "making too much" out of a finding. It is recognized that caution is essential. However, only further research will help determine the tenability of such hypothesizing.

Although the aspiration-expectation gap is very moderate for the lower class, it is in the expected direction, namely, the proportion of high aspirants exceeds the proportion of those who expect to attain the particular goal in question. However, an interesting phenomenon merits consideration in the case of both male and female high social strata. For this group there is a slight aspiration-expectation gap but in the opposite direction to that generally expected to occur. It is apparent that of these students, the proportion expecting to attend university is higher than the proportion aspiring to that educational level.

A possible explanation for this rather unexpected finding could stem from the concept of "educational aspiration" as it seems to be generally used. The implicit assumption made by the users of this concept is that one's aspirations will be higher than one's expectations. A further assumption that seems to follow from the first one is that most people aspire to goals that are culturally-defined as "high," and on the basis of some evaluation of their chances for such goal attainment, establish their expectations, often having to settle for lower levels of the latter. Such a monolithic viewpoint would tend to disregard the seemingly real possibi-

lity of higher expectations than aspirations, a phenomenon that is appearing among a number of students in the high social stratum of the sample.

Further perusal of questionnaire responses showed specific examples of this reversal, although admittedly, in a very few cases only. When asked to indicate the educational level they expected to pursue after completing high school, these respondents indicated "university." However, in response to the question regarding the level of education they would most like to pursue if they were free to do so (by operational definition - their "aspirations"), they responded by naming an educational pursuit considered by this study to be below the level of university.

Examples of this phenomenon include several respondents who indicated a desire to either withdraw from the "tedious" life of the student and enter a more "creative" or "self-actualizing" mode of learning, fields that although required some training and education, can be pursued from outside the confines of the formal university system. These students expressed a desire to become "pop musicians," artists, and actors, rather than attend university. However, it seems that although they aspire to these goals, i.e., hold them ideally, they are "realistic" about their plans and hence expect to follow the more "acceptable" and "secure" route that university provides.

It is also possible that for these students, a fantasy-based response is at least partly due to their regard for

the task required by the questionnaire, i.e., they may have responded to the aspirations question almost jokingly. Such can be the vulnerability of the questionnaire method of data collection; the researcher is never certain that all respondents are thoroughly aware of the seriousness that is expected of them. A question such as the one used to determine aspirations has the potential of inadvertently encouraging a tendency to answer in a joshing manner.

Suzanne Keller's concept of "relative distance"[18] in regard to the class-accessibility of a given goal may provide another interpretation and further explanation for the expectation-aspiration gap among the high social stratum. Her conceptualization holds that the saliency of a goal is a function of its accessibility for a given social class. Although goals have "absolute" values, i.e., the value determined by a general consensus regarding desirability and importance, they also have what can be thought of as a "relative value."[19] The latter is determined by the social class rating given to a particular goal on the basis of its importance relative to that social stratum. What determines the relative worth of a goal is the amount of effort or ambition required to realize its attainment.

As Keller explains, "An example of a goal with high relative value in the lower class but a low relative value in the middle class is skilled manual work."[20] She argues that choosing to become a skilled worker or a professional person may be a rather high goal for the offspring of a

father who is of the lower social class, but for the child of a socially high-ranking individual, the same goal is considerably less lofty.

Taking this "relative distance" approach, it seems rather fruitless to measure a person's aspirations in terms of culturally-defined "absolutes." By using university and professional aspirations as the yardstick for a measure of ambition or aspiration "...the whole problem of differential class access to these goals-used-as-standards..." becomes a salient problem.[21] If this perplexity exists for the study of aspiration and ambition at the lower end of the social hierarchy, it should also be salient to the higher strata.

In the case of the sample under study in this research, the high social class members may be reflecting their awareness of the readily-accessible goal of university and pursue it as much because others expect them to do so, as for their own goal-striving satisfaction. Since such a goal is relatively salient or easily accessible, they may in fact orient their aspirations or "ideal" goals in other directions. As Joseph Kahl has observed, the high social strata often reflect a "...relaxed and secure acceptance of their position... and turn their attention to 'the higher things of life.'"[22]

It is therefore possible that among members of the sample, those who indicate higher educational expectations than aspirations are reflecting the security of their high social status by accepting for themselves the expectations

to attain high educational goals.

Whether or not a consideration of the "absolute-relative goal differentiation" thesis can be productive in the study of mobility is a formidable task to be taken on by further research. The crucial problem to this approach seems to be the necessity but extreme difficulty of establishing class equivalents or substitute goals to replace the "absolute" cross-class standards that are generally applied in studies of aspirations, values and ambition. To do so is to play down the importance of the concept of "absolute" values which cannot be so readily overlooked. Witness the middle class values toward which the school system is directing the essence of its program, regardless of its blatantly heterogeneous social class composition. For educators in general and particularly for sociologists studying the institution of education, this denial of social reality, regardless of the latter's unpalatability, would be highly ludicrous.

(3) Occupational Aspirations and Expectations

Occupation and education are often inextricably interrelated; a person's education can profoundly affect the extent and range of occupations from which he may choose. As previously pointed out in this study, the situation is exemplified in the case of the high status professional fields. In modern industrial societies, a professional person has gained his occupational status only through extensive

training and usually university education. These prerequisites obviously preclude from entering these fields, those individuals who are either insufficiently or inappropriately educated.

For a high school senior about to graduate, an awareness of these circumstances is necessary if a realistic occupational pursuit is expected of him. If he is made aware of the prerequisites to entering various occupations, it seems reasonable that he will more realistically evaluate his intellectual ability and the adequacy of his public school preparation. In the schools from which this study sampled, a discussion with guidance counsellors, indicated that these students have been thoroughly informed regarding the career choices open to them.

An awareness of the possibilities open to a student may have at least a two-fold effect on him. He should be able to indicate an occupational choice based more on realistic considerations than on fantasy; he is aware of what he can do and the limitations that may reduce his range of choices. Secondly, this awareness of his resources or qualifications, particularly from the academic standpoint, could very understandably have an effect on his occupational plans. In other words, a person's educational background and educational <u>expectations</u> can greatly influence his occupational expectations. A student in a non-matriculation high school stream cannot realistically expect or plan a professional career that requires university education. Al-

though there are some exceptions to this generalization, the latter is still applicable to many seniors in Edmonton schools. It is this consideration that served as the basis for the elimination of non-matriculant streams from the sample.

On the other hand, "aspirations" can be conceived of as "ideal" goals - those goals that the person "...would really like to achieve were there to be no constraints on his financial or intellectual resources."[23] In terms of R. Stephenson's theory (Chapter II) an "aspiration" can be indicated by an individual without reference to his mobility skills and resources, whereas "expectations" are assumed to entail consideration of these resources.

It seems reasonable therefore, that one's occupational aspirations can be solicited without the respondent necessarily considering the adequacy of his "mobility resources" (Chapter II). Theoretically, since a person's aspirations for a particular goal attainment is an indication of the priority level of that goal in his value hierarchy, what he declares to be his occupational aspirations may provide some insight into the extent to which he values high status occupations. This can in effect, be an indicator of his mobility orientation.

It is consequently argued that there is a possibility of gaining a knowledge of the individual's occupational aspirations without necessarily suspecting a "contamination" of this value by either facilitating or prohibiting resources,

whether they are real or merely perceived by the subject as being present. The educational expectation level, it is acknowledged, can indeed be affected by this perception, and according to some theorists, is a reflection of it (Chapter II). The state of educational preparedness may be only one of these possible obstacles for some individuals, other impediments are more intangible and less identifiable. This study in recognizing the problem, examines occupational expectations but does not attempt to isolate the various possible factors that may be affecting them. At best, it is aimed at attempting to establish the tenability of assuming that these elements may even be at play. It does not purport to contribute significantly to the understanding of this phenomenon. As an exploratory study, it is mainly concerned with the respondent's occupational aspirations compared to his expectations, as these variables appear related to social class background.

(4) Social Class and Occupational Aspirations

Using the categories outlined in Chapter IV, the 249 respondents were classified both before and after differentiation by sex. A discussion of the findings follows the order of hypotheses considered in Chapter I.

Hypothesis VI: The occupational aspiration level of high school seniors is not related to social class for either males or females separately.

Hypothesis VII: The occupational aspiration level of male high school seniors is higher than that of their female counterparts.

TABLE 11

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS FROM VARIOUS SOCIAL STRATA

Social Class Position	Occupational Aspirations				Total
	Low		High		
	No.	%	No.	%	
High	23	29.9	54	70.1	77
Middle	23	29.5	55	70.5	78
Low	42	44.7	52	55.3	94
Total	88		161		249
Gamma = 0.228,	X^2 = 5.767,		D/F = 2,	P = 0.056	

Table 11 summarizes the distribution of the 249 seniors cross-tabulated in terms of their social class background and occupational aspirations. It is apparent from this table that a considerable proportion of high social class students, as compared to that of the lower stratum, aspire to high levels of occupation. Compared to a mere 55.3 percent of the lower class seniors, 70.1 percent of the highest class have high occupational aspirations. Interestingly, the middle class contains approximately the same proportion of high aspirants as the high class. However, the decline is noticable from the middle to the low class in this regard. Although the association between social class and this type

of aspiration is quite low (gamma = 0.228), the relationship is beyond the .05 level.

Since it has been found that in other cross-tabulations, the sex variable appears to have an influence on the relationships, it may be profitable to examine the association between social class and occupational aspirations while holding sex constant. This control has been implemented and Table 12 summaries the findings.

TABLE 12

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION LEVELS OF MALE AND FEMALE HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS FROM VARIOUS SOCIAL STRATA

Social Class Position	Occupational Aspirations			
	% Low		% High	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
High	20.5 (8)	39.5 (15)	79.5 (31)	60.5 (23)
Middle	20.9 (9)	40.0 (14)	79.1 (34)	60.0 (21)
Low	36.7 (18)	53.3 (24)	63.3 (31)	46.7 (21)
No.	(35)	(53)	(96)	(65)
		Gamma = 0.289		0.197
		D/F = 2, X^2 = 4.014		2.085
		P = 0.134		0.352

The associations shown in Table 12 are positive but relatively low (gamma = 0.289 for males and 0.197 for females). Furthermore, the chance probabilities are considerably beyond the .05 percent level and hence the relationship is not significant.

It is interesting however, that for this sample, there are several noteworthy percentage distributions regarding both the variables sex and social class. The column of high aspiring males reveals that only 63.3 percent of the low social stratum havehigh occupational aspirations compared to 79.5 and 79.1 percent of high and middle strata respectively. These proportional differences indicate that a lower number of males in the low social class stratum aspire to high status occupations, e.g., the professions, than the numbers among the other classes.

The same is evident for the female subsample. Of the low social class girls 46.7 percent have high occupational aspirations compared to 60.5 percent of the highest stratum. Even the proportion of high social class girls with professional and other high occupational goals is moderate. Stated in another way, about only one-half of <u>all</u> the girls in the sample, regardless of social class, indicate that they would choose a high status occupation <u>even if they had</u> the chance. This finding supports Hypothesis VII at least for the sample being studied. Since for all distributions regarding this aspiration variable, the chance probability level is beyond .05, the differences are not statistically

significant. On this basis then, Hypothesis VI has not been rejected and neither has Hypothesis VII. The percentage distributions however, suggest some relationship between social class, sex, and occupational aspirations.

(5) Social Class and Occupational Expectations

TABLE 13

OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATION LEVELS OF HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS FROM VARIOUS SOCIAL STRATA

Social Class Position	Occupational Expectations				Total
	Low		High		
	No.	%	No.	%	
High	23	29.9	54	70.1	77
Middle	32	41.0	46	59.0	78
Low	53	56.4	41	43.6	94
Total	108		141		249
Gamma = 0.359,	X^2 = 12.369,		D/F = 2,	P = 0.002	

Table 13 shows the percentage distribution for the combined sexes, i.e., the total sample in regard to social class and educational expectations.

As for the case with occupational aspirations, the expectation levels have a moderate and positive association

with social class when sex is not held constant. Table 13 indicates that of the 249 students, 70.1 percent of the high social stratum expect to enter high status occupations, at least some time within the next several decades. This proportion of high social class students with high occupational expectations is considerably greater than that of the lower class, the latter containing only 43.6 percent with similar expectations. The middle stratum, 59.0 percent of which have high expectations, falls between the two extremes. With a very low chance probability of .002 percent, the distribution is a statistically significant one.

The relationship between social class and occupational expectations when sex is held constant, is summarized in Table 14.

In the case of male respondents there is a difference of nearly thirty percent (87.2 percent compared to 59.2 percent) between the proportion of high social class students with high educational expectations and their lower class counterparts. For the middle social stratum, the proportion is about the same as that of the lower class. The moderate and positive association (gamma = 0.397) is significant at the .009 level. It is clear that on the basis of these figures, a considerably higher percentage of lower class males in this sample, do not expect to enter the high status occupations that will likely elevate their social status above their stratum of origin. For males apparently, the social stratification system based on an occupational status

TABLE 14

OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATION LEVELS OF MALE AND FEMALE HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS FROM VARIOUS SOCIAL STRATA

Social Class Position	Occupational Expectations			
	% Low		% High	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
High	12.8 (5)	47.4 (18)	87.2 (34)	52.6 (20)
Middle	39.5 (17)	42.9 (15)	60.5 (26)	57.1 (20)
Low	40.8 (20)	73.3 (33)	59.2 (29)	26.7 (12)
Total	(42)	(66)	(89)	(52)
		Gamma = 0.397		0.364
		X^2 = 9.455		9.086
		P = 0.009		0.011

hierarchy would tend to be perpetuated intergenerationally if expectations became a reality.

For females there is also a positive association (gamma = 0.364) between social class and occupational expectations, but the association is not a linear one. The figures show that 52.6 percent of the highest social group have high expectations, and although this figure is higher than that of the low social class category, i.e., 26.7 percent, the former proportion is not as high as that of the middle class.

It is this stratum that contains the highest percentage of high occupational expectations, although even this proportion is lower than the lowest proportion for the males.

A further interesting phenomenon is the fact that middle class girls reveal occupational expectations similar to the high social class - a situation which does not apply to middle class males. For the latter, their occupational expectation levels are more like those of the lower stratum in the sample. It appears from this finding that only males from the high social class can confidently expect to enter occupations of high social status. On the other hand, both the middle class and the high stratum girls have similar proportions expecting to work at high status jobs, although these percentages are considerably lower than the males of the high social class with the same expectations.

For the female sample members then, there is an association between social class and occupational expectations significant at the .01 level. This relationship is somewhat irregular however, as a slightly higher percentage of middle stratum females than high stratum females expect to work at high status occupations. Of perhaps more significance is the indication that only about one-quarter (26.7 percent) of the lowest social stratum expect to pursue high status jobs. The implication is again that there are certain mechanisms operating among the lower class members of the sample, particularly among the girls, that lower their occupational expectations.

On the basis of the data presented in Table 14, it is found that the relationships between social class and occupational expectations are significant at the .05 level for both males and females separately and combined. These findings therefore support the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis VIII: The occupational expectation level of high school seniors is positively related to social class. This relationship applies also to males and females separately.

Hypothesis IX: The occupational expectation level of male high school seniors is higher than that of their female counterparts.

One further relationship worthy of consideration concerns the occupational aspiration-expectation gap and the particular groups for which it exists. Table 15 is a summary of the percentage distributions of occupational aspirations and expectations. Consequently, an examination of that table will reveal the particular characteristics of the aspiration-expectation gap.

Although for the females of all three social strata, there is a drop in the percentages between aspirations and expectations (aspirations being higher than expectations), Table 15 shows some interesting facts. For the high social class, the percentage decline is about 8 points, going from aspirations to expectations. In contrast, for the middle stratum, the proportion of girls who expect to hold high status occupational positions is closely in line with the proportion aspiring to this goal. It appears then, that for the females of the middle class in this sample, if one as-

TABLE 15

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS BY SOCIAL STRATA

Social Class Position	High Occupational Aspirations		High Occupational Expectations	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
High	79.5	60.5	87.2	52.6
Middle	79.1	60.0	60.5	57.1
Low	63.3	46.7	59.2	26.7
No.	96	65	89	52

pires highly in occupational terms, one also expects to attain such goals.

This does not seem to be the case with girls of the other two social classes. The lower stratum in particular reflects a considerably wide aspiration-expectation gap with 46.7 percent of its members aspiring to high status occupations but only 26.7 percent expecting to realize these aspirations.

As indicated by several responses to the questionnaire, one of the explanations for the high aspiration-expectation gap among females of the lower class is impending marriage. In fact, at all social class levels among the females in the sample, marriage was mentioned as being a salient impediment to high goal attainment. Of further interest to the re-

searcher, these girls found it necessary to further comment that there is "nothing wrong with this" and that "being a housewife is just as important as having a career."

In the case of males, the aspiration-expectation gap is widest among the middle class. For this group, although 79.1 percent would like to take on a high status occupation, only 60.5 percent think they will actually do so. This discrepancy is suggestive of perceived limitations on their mobility resources - at least in regard to occupational goals. Although the proportion of middle class males with high occupational aspirations is equivalent to that of the high stratum, the former tend to deflate their goals when stating their expectations. An interesting fact is that among the same stratum of males, there was no aspiration-expectation gap in regard to educational goals (Table 10). Such an inconsistency suggests a middle class perception of factors other than educational ones, as being important in occupational mobility.

On the other hand, similar to their educational aspiration-expectation gap, the high social stratum reveals a reverse occupational aspiration-expectation gap. Table 15 indicates that among males of the high stratum, a higher proportion expect to hold high status occupations than the proportion who aspire to these jobs. The explanation for this phenomenon may be again in the "relative distance" concept, i.e., high occupational goals are taken for granted by the high social class and this security allows them to

look to other things on which to place their highest value.

It is interesting to note that although in the highest social stratum the aspiration-expectation gap for occupations reveals that among males, occupational expectations are higher than occupational aspirations, the same is not true of the females in the same social class group. Among the latter, job aspirations tend to be higher than job expectations - as is generally true for the other strata in the sample. This finding may be a further indication of marriage, motherhood and "homemaking" roles as being salient and viable alternatives for girls even, of the upper social stratum.

Also interesting is the fact that among the lower class males, the proportion having high occupational aspirations barely exceeds the proportion with high occupational expectations. According to the thesis that claims there is a maldistribution of mobility resources, one would expect the widest aspiration-expectation gap to come in the lower social stratum. Although such is the case for females in terms of job aspirations and expectations, it is not so for the boys. Perhaps these males have tended to set their occupational aspirations lower and as a result, of those who aspire to high status jobs, almost all believe that they can actually realize these goals. However, although it may be true that lower class boys in the sample tend to set their occupational aspirations lower than the other classes, there is a relatively high percentage of the former group with high aspira-

tions as compared with the other classes, i.e., 63.3 percent versus about 79 percent.

A further finding from Table 15 is the fact that although the proportion of middle class males with high occupational aspirations is almost identical to that of the high social stratum with similar aspirations, the proportion of the former group with high expectations is almost equal to that of the lower social class. This suggests that it is among only males of the high social class in this sample that the proportion with high occupational expectations is as high as that of aspirations. Even boys of the middle class perceive a reality that tends to place them in jobs of lower status than what they would really want if nothing was stopping them from obtaining their wishes. It appears that in Edmonton society, the middle class males consider their mobility resources as inadequate to elevate their social status positions to the heights of the professional worker.

Footnotes

[1] Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome: A Psychocultural Dimension of Social Stratification", p. 208.

[2] Strong, op. cit., p. 90.

[3] Ibid., p. 68.

[4] Ibid., p. 149. See also W.H. Sewell, "Community of Residence and College Plans", American Sociological Review, 29 (1964), pp. 24-38.

[5] Strong, loc. cit.

[6] Rosen, op. cit., p. 209.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Strong, op. cit., p. 129.

[9] See Chapter II.

[10] See Chapter III.

[11] J. Kahl, "Some Measurements of Achievement Orientation", The American Journal of Sociology, 70 (1965), p. 678.

[12] Scanzoni, op. cit., p. 450.

[13] Kahl, loc. cit.

[14] Scanzoni, loc. cit.

[15] See Chapter III.

[16] Turner, op. cit., p. 15.

[17] Department of Labour of Canada, Women at Work in Canada (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1965), p. 34.

[18] Suzanne Keller and Marisa Zavalloni, "Ambition and Social Class: A Respecification", Social Forces, 43 (1964-65), p. 60.

[19] Ibid., p. 61.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid., p. 60.

[22] Kahl, "Some Measurements of Achievement Motivation", p. 670.

[23] Rehberg, op. cit., p. 81.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

This chapter summarizes the major findings of the thesis and evalutes the study in terms of its objectives as they were outlined in Chapter I. It also relates the findings to the theoretical issues discussed in Chapter II and indicates lines of research that might contribute further to social mobility analysis.

The Problem

The purpose of the thesis was to explore the relationship between social stratification and variants of social mobility in a fairly open social class system. This study is concerned primarily with the "mobility skills" and "mobility orientation" variables. The former refers to attitudes and values instrumental to mobility and the latter concerns "...aspiration levels within the stratification system that may serve as points of motivation in competition for position in the social structure."[1]

(1) Social Class and Achievement Values

Past research has indicated that social classes in western industrial societies possess different values, and that these differences help to contribute to the differential inter-class rates of social mobility within these societies.

What remains an unresolved issue however, is whether or not these differences are of "degree" or of "kind" (i.e., value discrepancies or value contradictions).

It is recognized that an inventory of any group's values becomes rather unwieldly if the research attempts to study very general values. The most effective method seems to be an examination of values placed on more specific things, e.g., achievement, education and occupation. One of the more common approaches to this value study technique is based on the conceptual framework provided by F. Kluckhohn[2] and operationalized by B. Rosen in his research into what he calls the "achievement syndrome."[3]

In Rosen's conceptualization, mobility skills and mobility orientation are two components of the achievement syndrome. In line with this concept, mobility skills are thought of in more specific terms, namely, as "achievement values," i.e., values likely to facilitate achievement and hence often social mobility. The mobility orientation variable can be compared to the "levels of aspiration" (relative to education and occupation) component of the syndrome.

Achievement values are part of a configuration of value orientations that arise out of man's attempts to cope with universal problems. F. Kluckhohn's original schema contains five such orientations or problems,[4] but only three are considered by Rosen to be particularly relevant to achievement in western industrial societies. The dominant achievement orientations are, first, the activistic-passivis-

tic orientation which concerns the extent of a group's encouragement of an individual's belief in the feasibility of manipulating his social and physical environment. A second achievement-linked value is the present-future orientation which determines whether the group encourages the individual to seek immediate gratification or to defer this satisfaction and plan for future, far-distant goal attainment. Thirdly, the individualistic-collectivistic orientation concerns the individual's relationship to his family, particularly in terms of whether or not he is willing to develop an independence from close family ties that may impede his social mobility.

As discussed in Chapter III, research has shown that social class membership can influence an individual's achievement orientation. More specifically, evidence from studies indicates that for the lower social class, the proportion of members possessing achievement-oriented values is smaller than the proportion of the higher social classes with a similar value orientation.

(2) Levels of Educational and Occupational Aspiration

There are also studies that have found a relationship between a person's social class background and his levels of educational and occupational aspirations. It was the purpose of this thesis to examine not only social class as it is related to these aspiration levels, i.e., the "idealistic" level of an educational or occupational goal orientation,

but also the relationship between social class and expectation levels, i.e., the "realistic" levels of educational and occupational goal orientation. The aspiration level is the goal an individual would most "like" to attain were there no limitations on his mobility resources. In contrast, the expectation level refers to "...the level of a post-high school occupational or educational goal the respondent actually intends to achieve, given whatever constraints there are upon his financial or intellectual resources."[5]

A purposive sample of 249 Edmonton public high school seniors of both sexes were the subjects of this study. The group is relatively homogeneous in that all members were in their senior year of the academic stream, have measured intelligence scores at least equal to or above the mean (100) of the Canadian Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Test (verbal battery), and were all urban-dwellers at the time of the study. To establish social class divisions within the sample, the students were stratified using the Blishen Socio-Economic Index for Occupations. Achievement value orientation was measured by a modified Strodtbeck-Rosen scale that was part of a questionnaire administered to the sample members within the classroom setting.

Summary of Findings

The analysis of data was presented in two parts (Chapter V); the first section dealt with the relationship between social class and scores on the Achievement Value Orientation

Test, and the second part examined the relationship between social class and levels of educational-occupational aspirations and expectations.

(1) The Relationship Between Social Class and Achievement Value Scores

A statistical analysis of data found that for the sample of males and females, there is a moderate and positive relationship (gamma = 0.305) between the respondent's social class background and his achievement value orientation score. This relationship appears to be a linear one; the higher the social class, the greater the proportion of students with high scores on the Achievement Value Orientation Test. Of the members of the high social stratum, 79.2 percent scored high on achievement orientation, while for the middle and lower classes, the proportions are 69.2 percent and 59.6 percent respectively. Since this relationship is significant at the .05 level, it is necessary to tentatively reject Hypothesis I, namely, that social class is not related to implementary values conducive to upward mobility (at least as these values are measured by the Achievement Value Orientation Test).

It is important however, to emphasize the tentativeness of this rejection. When the scale underwent factor analysis, it became clear that the items do not load highly on the three orientations purported to be the components of the instrument (i.e., "activism-passivism," "present-future orien-

tation," and "individualism-collectivism"). Factor analysis indicates that the instrument is multi-dimensional, rather than just tri-dimensional; the three "known" factors together account for only a relatively low proportion of variance.

A further pragmatic test casts greater doubt on the validity of the instrument. An examination of the relationship between achievement value scores and levels of educational and occupational aspirations shows that for the sample, there is no statistically significant association between achievement scores and either measure of aspirations. Regardless of their value scores, the greatest proportion of respondents reveal high levels of educational aspiration. Likewise, for occupational aspirations, there is no association significant at the .05 level between this variable and achievement value scores.

Since Rosen has alleged that the aspirations component of the achievement syndrome is related to the achievement value orientation component, the lack of a significant association found between these two elements in this thesis adds to the dubious validity of the instrument. This finding forces the conclusion that the scale is either not measuring what it was designed to measure, i.e., achievement orientation, or it is not indicative of achievement orientation, at least relative to educational and occupational goals. Until it has undergone extensive item and component analysis as well as verbal revision, the scale is not recommended

for further usage in the Canadian scene.

(2) Social Class and Educational Aspirations and Expectations

For the purposes of this thesis, levels of educational aspiration and expectation were considered to be "high" if they were university-level goals and conversely, "low" if they were non-university-level goals. In effect, a high educational aspirant is one who indicates a university education as his ideally-held goal and a student with high educational expectations, is one who expects to attain a university education.

In the case of educational aspirations, the study found no significant relationship between this variable and social class background for both males and females. Regardless of social class background, a relatively high proportion of students, particularly males, would like to attend university upon completion of grade twelve. Although for both sexes, the proportion of high social class students with university aspirations is higher than the other social classes, the range between all three strata is relatively narrow.

It is interesting to note that there is a relatively high proportion of girls from all social strata indicating a desire to go to university but the lowest percentage of high aspirants is within the low social class, in fact, this proportion is the lowest of all subgroups in the sample.

Although educational aspirations were found to be

unrelated to social class, the same is not true of educational expectations. An analysis of the data reveals a relationship between the social class background of the individual and his level of educational expectations. This relationship is significant at the .05 level for the sample as a whole, and also for the sexually-differentiated subsamples.

Findings indicate that within the lower stratum there is an educational aspiration-expectation gap which, according to the thesis of "differentially distributed mobility resources," is in the expected direction. For low social class males in the sample, although 73.5 percent aspire to university, only 65.3 percent expect to realize this goal. The aspiration-expectation gap is somewhat wider for the lower class girls, i.e., 64.4 percent have university aspirations while only 53.3 percent have the same expected goals. These relationships are significant at the .05 level and suggest that the lower class students perceive impediments to their ideal goal attainment. It may be that a number of these students, especially the boys, regard their mobility resources as being inadequate. However, a portion of the differences between girls' aspirations and expectations is likely due to their plans for impending marriage.

This study supports the hypothesis that for the sample, the level of educational aspirations is not related to social class, neither for the entire group nor for males and females separately. It is also the case that the find-

ings indicate support for the hypothesis that the educational expectations level of the high school seniors is positively related to social class, both for the group as a whole and for the male and female subgroups. In addition, for both educational aspirations and expectations, the proportion of high aspirants is greater among the males than among the girls.

(3) Social Class and Occupational Aspirations and Expectations

Occupational aspirations and expectations were considered by this study to be "high" if the occupational goal indicated by the respondent was of either a professional or big-business managerial-ownership position. Other occupational levels either aspired toward or expected, were categorized as being "low."

For occupational aspiration levels, the findings of this study are rather contradictory. Examining the sample of 249 students, there is found to be a moderate and positive relationship (gamma = .228) between social class and occupational aspirations, and this relationship is significant at the .05 level. However, this significance disappears when sex is held constant and cross-tabulations are made between occupational aspirations and social class background. Consequently, the data support the hypothesis that the occupational aspiration level is not related to social class for either males or females separately.

It is also the case that the occupational aspiration

level of the males in the sample is generally higher than that of their female counterparts. An examination of the percentage distribution by social class and occupational aspirations, holding sex constant, shows that among the girls there are relatively lower proportions of high aspirants than among their male counterparts, regardless of their social class background.

Also of interest is the fact that the proportion of students with high occupational aspirations is lowest for both boys and girls of the low social class, while for the males and the females of the middle social stratum, the percentage of high occupational aspirants is about the same as that of their high social class counterparts. It is important to note however, that these differences must be regarded with caution, as they are not statistically significant at the .05 level. Hence, there is little indication that the lower class sample members have considerably lower occupational aspirations than the higher social class students.[6]

Although the study does not link social class with occupational aspirations, it does provide evidence that there is a relationship between social class and levels of occupational expectations among the high school seniors both together and differentiated by sex. This relationship is significant at the .05 level for both sexes, although it is not a linear one. The distributions therefore, present some interesting facts.

The gap between occupational aspirations and expectations among the male sub-sample is widest for the middle social class rather than the lower stratum. Although 79.1 percent of middle class boys indicated a high level of occupational aspirations (almost equivalent to the high social group), only 60.5 percent expect to attain their aspired goal. For lower class males, the gap is only 4.1 percent while for the high social class, there is a reversal in the gap, i.e., only 79.5 percent aspire to high occupational status positions but 87.2 percent expect to enter these jobs. Explanations for these phenomena were proposed and discussed in Chapter V.

For the female subsample, the relationship is even more anomalous. Of the three social strata, it is the middle class that reflects the most narrow occupational aspiration-expectation gap. Although this group contains a proportion of high aspirants equal to that of the high stratum, the former appear not to perceive any obstructions impeding the realization of their desired occupational goals. Of further significance is the fact that although among the girls of the high stratum, there is a moderate aspiration-expectation gap relative to occupation, it is the low stratum females who exhibit the widest gap of all subgroups in the sample. The implication is that a high percentage of low social class girls in this sample, do not expect to elevate their social status, at least through occupational mobility.

On the basis of these findings, the study lends support

to the hypothesis that the occupational expectation level of high school seniors is positively related to social class, both for males and for females. It further indicates that the occupational expectation level of male high school seniors is higher than that of their female counterparts.

Implications of the Study for Mobility Theory

Chapter II discussed the various theoretical positions that purport to explain the empirically observable differential rates of social mobility in western industrial societies that are characterized by a social class system. The higher rate of status mobility that seems to be prevalent among the higher social classes can be explained in terms of the "value-contradiction" thesis, namely, that various subgroups endorse different values although they coexist within the same society. This differential rate can also be explained by "value discrepancies" due to a maldistribution of mobility resources. The latter theory holds that there is an unequal distribution of mobility resources within the stratification hierarchy, and that the lower social classes gain less access to those resources that can facilitate mobility. This argument further contends that the social classes share the "success theme," i.e., that all social strata hold similar values relative to educational and occupational success, but that the lower classes do not enjoy the same "life chances" to realize these goals.

The findings in this thesis tend to corroborate the

theme that mobility resources are differentially distributed among the social classes of the sample. Although the study reports a significant relationship between social class and achievement values as measured by the instrument designed to provide this measurement, the validity of this scale is highly tenuous. Therefore, since it cannot really be known just what the instrument is measuring, very little can be said by the study in regard to the relationship between social class and "mobility skills" or in Rosen's terms, achievement value orientation.

However, the evidence revealed in this study indicates that within the sample, all social classes of both sexes indicate a similar "mobility orientation," i.e., they have relatively high levels of educational and occupational aspirations (Chapter II). If it can be assumed that educational and occupational aspirations are indicative of the value placed on educational and occupational goals, then it appears that the students in the sample share similar values toward these spheres of life, and consequently are "mobility oriented" in the psychological sense. Perhaps what is thwarting the mobility orientations of the lower classes is their perception of inadequate mobility resources. An investigation of this variable merits further consideration by sociologists studying Alberta society in view of its particular configuration.

In Chapter I of this thesis, the suggestion was made that the social stratification system in Edmonton may be less

rigidly structured and hence more open than in many parts of eastern Canada and the United States where the majority of North American mobility studies have drawn their samples. However, the findings of this study can be shown to both support and dispute this suggestion.

The study found that student expectations relative to both education and occupation are significantly differentiated by social class, i.e., a larger proportion of high and middle social classes expect to attend university and also take on high status occupations than the proportion of lower class students with the same expectations. What this finding suggests is that for society in Edmonton, social stratification considered in terms of occupational status, tends to be perpetuated intergenerationally.

This perpetuation however, is not necessarily a reflection of social class value contradiction or differences among strata in regard to mobility orientation. Rather, it seems that other factors, perhaps inadequate mobility resources, tend to induce the lower class aspirant to lower his expectations. If further research involving similar samples in Edmonton confirms this interpretation, then parallels may be drawn in regard to the social stratification system in this city and that of other areas of Canada and the United States.

In view of the sampling control measures taken by this study, i.e., the attempt to include only students who have high academic qualifications and ability, it seems reasonable

to assume with some confidence that these students possess sufficient funds of the "innate" mobility resources (Chapter II). Hence it would follow that if they still in fact lower their expectations because of inadequate mobility resources, then the latter could be of the more ascriptive kind, e.g., wealth. Research along these lines may prove to be quite fruitful in enhancing the knowledge of mobility theory in this society.

On the other hand, there is some indication that the social class system in Edmonton is more open than in other parts of North America. Evidence of this lies in the fact that even among the lower social stratum of the sample, the proportion of both males and females who expect to attend university is relatively high (i.e., 65.3 percent of the males and 53.3 percent for the females). Similarily, the proportion of lower class seniors, especially in the male sub-sample, who expect to take on high status occupations (59.2 percent) is comparatively large.

These facts point out that whether or not a considerable proportion of students from the lower class part of the sample (and for that matter, perhaps the other strata as well) are "over-inflating" their educational and occupational expectations, they apparently do not hold a pessimistic view of their life chances in regard to the attainment of these goals. This seems to be some indication that the social stratification system in Edmonton provides a social context in which lower class vertical mobility rates are higher than

in other parts of Canada and the United States.

A note of caution is necessary however. The above assumption may be falsely grounded because of the rather homogeneous sample used in this study. Since all sample members have achieved academically at the high school level, they may have reason to feel confident in regard to their chances in future endeavours that often require basically similar skills. The possibility also exists that the lower class sample members are not "representative" of their social stratum; because of their present membership in a rather select group of academically successful grade twelve students, they may have embraced the values of this group and in important areas, no longer hold the values of their stratum of origin.[8]

Recommendations for Further Studies

Several recommended lines of further study have been mentioned in the text of this chapter. Some of the unanswered questions which suggest areas of further research are outlined:

(1) There is a need for more aspiration studies using various samples within the social milieu of both rural and urban Alberta society. These studies must include a careful and rigourous control of variables that have been shown to affect the aspirations of students, e.g., school achievement, school climate, neighbourhood and peer group re-

lationships as well as the many other variables that make this area of sociology extremely contentious but valuable to the development and exploitation of talent, particularly through the educational institution.

(2) The provincial educational system in Alberta purports to provide the financial assistance required by any student, regardless of his social class background.[9] There is reason to believe however, that a considerable number of students from the very socio-economic levels that require finances, do not perceive these resources to be available and as a result, do not expect to attain the high educational goals to which they aspire. It is therefore recommended that further studies extend the aspiration-expectation area of social mobility by investigating the reasons for the aspiration-expectation gap.

(3) The suggestion that society in Alberta may be significantly more open than other parts of Canada and the United States begs the question of whether or not this is indeed the case. Not only would further studies of this possibility provide some answers to this question, but they will likely aid in the evaluation of sociological theory which, although derived in other social milieu, is used to study Canadian society.

Footnotes

[1] Stephenson, op. cit., p. 204.

[2] F. Kluckhohn and F. Strodtbeck, op. cit.

[3] Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome: A Psychocultural Dimension of Social Stratification", op. cit., pp. 203-211.

[4] F. Kluckhohn and F. Strodtbeck, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

[5] Rehberg, op. cit., p. 81.

[6] Studies in the United States have indicated that the lower classes have both lower occupational aspirations and expections in comparison to the higher classes. See Rehberg, Ibid., p. 89.

[7] Ibid., p. 89.

[8] Robert Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: The Free Press, 1968), pp. 319-322.

[9] In 1943 the Alberta Provincial Legislature created the Student's Assistance Act which was amended in 1959 and again in 1971, the last amendment changing the name to the Students Finance Act.

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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE

Age: _____
Grade: _____
Sex: M F
(circle one)

This questionnaire is part of a study being carried out to learn more about the attitudes and feelings that you and other Edmonton high school students have regarding some aspects of life in general, about school, and about work. In addition, some general questions are asked regarding you and your family. I think that you will find the questions interesting to answer.

Please be completely free to answer the questions the way you <u>really</u> feel, as no one in this school will every see your answers, nor will your name appear on this questionnaire.

Remember, this is <u>not</u> a test. There are not any right or wrong answers. Just answer the way you feel and think about what is being asked.

Most of the questions can be answered quite quickly and the questionnaire can be completed during this class period. Work steadily but <u>carefully</u>. Please remember to do <u>every</u> question.

You may be interested to know that your answers will later be coded and punched on cards that can be studied by a computer. It is intended that you will be informed about the results of this study.

May I thank you beforehand for cooperating and helping me gather the information about you and your fellow students that I am seeking.

Section I: Your Ideas About Life

<u>Directions</u>: The following is a list of statements about people and how they often regard life, as well as how they think that they should live their life.

For each statement put a check mark (✓) in the blank beside the choice that you <u>most agree with</u> in order to complete the statement.

Even if you do not agree completely with either choice, check the one that comes closest to the way you feel and think.

1. When it comes to a person's friends

____ (a) his family should be among his best friends

____ (b) his best friends should be people other than members of his family

How strongly do you feel about the choice you just made?

____ very strongly ____ strongly

____ unsure of my choice

2. For a person to be successful in his life, the most important thing is

____ (a) determination and driving ambition

____ (b) getting the "breaks" and luck

How strongly do you feel about the choice you just made?

____ very strongly ____ strongly

____ unsure of my choice

3. Since plans hardly ever work out the way one wants them to, there is little point in planning your life in any great detail.

____ (a) agree ____ (b) disagree

How strongly do you feel about the choice you just made?

____ very strongly ____ strongly

____ unsure of my choice

4. When a person is in some kind of trouble he should

____ (a) seek help from his family

____ (b) try to face it completely on his own

How strongly do you feel about the choice you just made?

____ very strongly ____ strongly

____ unsure of my choice

5. It is best for a person in this world to enjoy himself now and not worry much about the future.

____ (a) agree ____ (b) disagree

How strongly do you feel about the choice you just made?

____ very strongly ____ strongly

____ unsure of my choice

6. It is more important to choose a job that offers good wages than one that offers a challenge to a person's skills and ability.

____ (a) agree ____ (b) disagree

How strongly do you feel about the choice you just made?

____ very strongly ____ strongly

____ unsure of my choice

7. When a young couple get married

____ (a) it is better for them to live with parents for a while

____ (b) they should immediately set up home on their own

How strongly do you feel about the choice you just made?

____ very strongly ____ strongly

____ unsure of my choice

8. In regard to a person's education

____ (a) it is worth while for a student to endure financial hardships in hopes that it will make for a better life later on

____ (b) if the person does not have the money, he would be foolish to endure the financial hardships of a student

How strongly do you feel about the choice you just made?

____ very strongly ____ strongly

____ unsure of my choice

9. The best kind of job for a person to have is one in which

____ (a) what has to be done on the job is clearly set out for him

____ (b) no one but himself makes the decisions as to what has to be done on the job

How strongly do you feel about the choice you just made?

____ very strongly ____ strongly

____ unsure of my choice

10. When a person comes to choose a job, he should

____ (a) prefer one near his parents, even if it may mean refusing a better job away from his home town

____ (b) prefer one away from his parents even if it means that he must leave his home town

How strongly do you feel about the choice you just made?

____ very strongly ____ strongly

____ unsure of my choice

11. The way to be happy is to not expect much out of life but rather to be content with your lot in life and whatever comes along.

____ (a) agree ____ (b) disagree

How strongly do you feel about the choice you just made?

____ very strongly ____ strongly

____ unsure of my choice

12. Those who have the best jobs usually get them because

____ (a) they were lucky and had some "breaks" come their way

____ (b) they have a good education

How strongly do you feel about the choice you just made?

____ very strongly ____ strongly

____ unsure of my choice

13. When choosing a job, a person should

____ (a) take one that his parents will approve of

____ (b) take one that he likes regardless of whether or not his parents approve

How strongly do you feel about the choice you just made?

____ very strongly ____ strongly

____ unsure of my choice

14. In regard to a student's financial spending

____ (a) a student who does not earn much money should spend what he has rather than try to save any

____ (b) a student would do well to try to save some of his earnings for future needs even if he does not have very much money

How strongly do you feel about the choice you just made?

____ very strongly ____ strongly

____ unsure of my choice

15. Since a person's future success in life is largely determined at birth, there is little that he can do about it, so he may as well accept it.

____ (a) agree ____ (b) disagree

How strongly do you feel about the choice you just made?

____ very strongly ____ strongly

____ unsure of my choice

16. The best kind of job is one in which

____ (a) a person is working in a group with everyone sharing the responsibilities and the credit that comes with the work

____ (b) one in which a person is working alone and taking his own responsibility and credit that comes from the work

How strongly do you feel about the choice you just made?

____ very strongly ____ strongly

____ unsure of my choice

Section II: Educational and Occupational Plans

Directions: The following is a set of questions regarding some aspects of your plans for further education and a future occupation.

To answer most of the questions, it is necessary to merely enter a check mark (✓) in the space beside the appropriate answer.

In some questions however, you may not find a choice that will fit your particular circumstances. If this is the case, please check the space beside the term "other" and then specify by writing in the actual information in the space provided for you.

There are a few questions that you will have to provide the answers for. In these questions, you are asked to express your opinions and feelings. To do so, use the spaces provided that follow the question and write in your answer.

Please answer these questions as thoroughly as you can because it is very important to this study that you do so, and that you state exactly what you think.

1. What program of study are you taking in school at the present time?

____ general ____ technical-vocational
____ matriculation ____ other (SPECIFY) _____

2. What was the percentage average for the courses on your last report card?

_____%

3. After high school, what are your plans for further education?

____ technical-vocational school
____ business college or school
____ no further education
____ university (SPECIFY) _____
____ other (SPECIFY) _____
_____

4. How sure are you that you will achieve these plans?

____ very sure ____ sure ____ sure ____ very unsure

5. If there was nothing stopping you (e.g., lack of money, or any other obstacles that you feel are in your way) what would be your plans for education following high school?

____ technical-vocational school
____ business college or school
____ no further education
____ university (SPECIFY MAJOR) _____
____ other (SPECIFY) _____

6. Would you try to explain or give reasons for any differences between your definite plans for education after high school (if any) and the plans that you would make if you were not being prevented in any way to plan as you wish?

e.g., Why do you feel that you are not completely able to choose?
What do you see as the important things that make this difference?

If there is no difference, put NA in the space provided below.

7. In regard to your plans for education after high school, did your mother have an effect on your plans?

____ yes ____ no

8. If you answered yes would you say that

____ (a) she has indicated that you should begin work after high school

____ (b) she has not really discussed the matter with you

____ (c) she has discussed different kinds of education with you but has not suggested any specific one for you to take

____ (d) she has called your attention to a specific kind of education but indicated that you should make up your own mind

____ (e) she has actually named a specific kind of education and has strongly insisted that you take it

9. In regard to your plans for education after high school, did your father have an effect on your plans?

____ yes ____ no

10. If you answered yes would you say that

____ (a) he has indicated that you should begin work after high school

____ (b) he has not really discussed the matter with you

____ (c) he has discussed different kinds of education with you but has not suggested any specific one for you to take

____ (d) he has called your attention to a specific kind of education but indicated that you should make up your own mind

____ (e) he has actually named a specific kind of education and has strongly insisted that you take it

11. Who was the greatest influence in helping you to decide whether or not to take further education after completing high school?

____ mother
____ teacher(s)
____ best friend(s)
____ father
____ brother(s)
____ other (SPECIFY) _____

12. What do you think would be the best job that you expect to be doing ten or twenty years from now?

(a) what would be the name of the job? _____
e.g., carpenter, laborer, lawyer, etc.

(b) please describe as carefully as possible the work that would be done on this job.

_____

_____

13. If there was nothing preventing you from taking it, what job would you want most of all to have ten or twenty years from now?

(a) what would be the name of the job? _____

(b) please describe as carefully as possible the work that would be done on this job.

_____

_____

14. Would you please try to explain or give reasons for why you do not think that you will be able to have the job that you most prefer.

    e.g., What do you think will prevent you from working at the job that you would most prefer?
    Why do you think that you will not be able to work at this job?

    If not applicable, put NA in the space provided below.

15. With whom do you live?

    ____ both parents
    ____ one parent only (SPECIFY) _____
    ____ on your own
    ____ other (SPECIFY) _____

16. What is the name of your father's job? _____
    e.g., carpenter, laborer, lawyer, etc.

17. Please describe as carefully as possible the work that he does on that job.

    _____

    _____

18. What is the name of your mother's job? _____
    e.g., housewife, secretary, waitress, etc.

19. Please describe as carefully as possible the work that she does on this job (unless she is a housewife).

    _____

    _____

20. How satisfied would you be to have your father's job (only males need to answer this question)?

____ very satisfied
____ somewhat satisfied
____ not at all satisfied
____ not applicable

21. (For females only.) How satisfied would you be if you were married and your husband worked at the job that your father is doing?

____ very satisifed
____ somewhat satisfied
____ not at all satisfied

22. How far did your father go in school?

____ less than grade nine
____ some high school
____ high school graduation
____ some university or vocational-technical schooling
____ university graduation

23. How far did your mother go in school?

____ less than grade nine
____ some high school
____ high school graduation
____ some university or technical-vocational schooling
____ university graduation

24. From what country did your father's ancestors come?

_____

25. From what country did your mother's ancestors come?

_____

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